



THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY 1837.

ART. I.—*La Mimica degli Antichi investigata nel Gestire Napolitano. The Gestures of the Ancients sought in the Gesticulations of the Neapolitans.* By the Canon Andrea de Jorio. Naples. 1832.

WHEN Italians converse, it is not the tongue alone that has full occupation ; their words are sure to have an instrumental accompaniment, in the gestures of their bodies. You never see, among them, two gentlemen standing bolt upright, one with his hands behind his back, and the other leaning on his umbrella, while they resolve to oppose a bill in Parliament, or to file one in Chancery, or determine to protest one in the city. You never see an orator, sacred or profane, screwed down in the middle of his pulpit, or wedged between the benches of his court, or holding hard on the front of his hustings, as though afraid of being run away with by his honourable pillory, and pouring forth impassioned eloquence, with a statue-like stillness of limbs, unless the right arm escape, to move up and down with the regularity of a pump-handle, or inflict, from time to time, a clenching blow upon the subjacent boards. No, it is not so in Italy. Let two friends sit down to solace themselves at the door of a *café*, in the cool of a summer's evening, or let them walk together along the noisy street of Toledo, at Naples ; let their conversation be upon the merest trifle, the present opera, the last festival, or the next marriage, and each speaker, as he utters his opinion in flowing musical sounds, will be seen to move his fingers, his hands, and his entire body, with a variety of gestures, attuned in perfect cadence to the emphasis of his words. See, one of them now is not actually speaking, though the other has ceased ; but he has raised his right hand, keeping the points of the thumb and index joined, and the other fingers expanded, and has laid his left gently upon his companion's arm. Depend upon it, his reply is going to open with a sententious saw, some magnificent truism, from which he will draw marvellous consequences. His mouth will open slowly,

ere it yields a sound ; and when at last ‘ Sir Oracle’ speaks, the right hand will beat time, by rising and falling on each substantive and verb of the sentence ; and at its close, the two wedded fingers will fly apart, and the entire expanded hand waive with grace and dignity outwards, if the propositions be positive. If negative, the fore-finger alone will remain extended, and erect, and be slowly moved backwards and forwards between the interlocutors’ faces. When the solemn sentence has been pronounced, and enforced by a dignified toss of the head, it is the other’s turn. But the *dictum* was probably too vague and general to receive a specific reply ; and, therefore, reserving his opinion till he has better felt his way, he shakes his head and hands, uttering, you may depend upon it, the monosyllabic but polysemous exclamation “ Eh !” which, like a Chinese word, receives its meaning from its varying accent. The active speaker perceives that he has not carried the outworks of his friend’s conviction, and addresses himself to a stronger attack. He now assumes the gesture of earnest remonstrance ; his two hands are joined palm to palm, with the thumbs depressed, and the fingers closely glued together, (for were the former erect, and the little fingers detached, and especially were they moved up and down, the gesture would signify not to *pray* but to *bray*, being the hieroglyphic for a donkey;) and in this position they beat time, moving up and down, while the head is thrown back upon the right shoulder. We can hear the very words too here ; they begin for certain with “ *abbie pazienze*, ”* a reproachful expostulation ; after which follows a more energetic repetition, slightly varied of what had been previously urged ; and, as the sentence closes, the hands are separated, and fly apart. If the point is not carried, the reasoning is enforced by a more personal appeal. All the fingers of the right hand are joined together with the thumb, and their united points are pressed upon the forehead, which bends forward towards the unconvincing and incredulous listener, while a new form is given to the argument. This gesture is a direct appeal to the common sense of the other party ; it is like intimating, that, if he have brains he must understand the reasoning. Further obstinacy would lead to altercation, and assent is yielded by a slow shrug, with the head inclined, and the hands separately raised, the palms turned downwards. “ *E vero*, ” “ *ha ragione*, ” or “ *non si può negare*, ”† are doubtless the accompanying words.

All this is a quiet, friendly scene : and, indeed, there are one

* “ Bear with me,” literally—“ have patience.”

† “ It is true—you are right—it is undeniable.”

or two more degrees of intensity of expostulation, and energy of gesture, which might be used, but which we pass over for fear of becoming tedious. But when the topic of conversation is more exciting, and the feelings of the speakers are more interested, gesture succeeds gesture with wonderful rapidity, and with bolder action; the head and trunk shake and writhe sympathetically with the agitation of the limbs, and long before an angry feeling has been expressed, a stranger fancies that they are in a towering passion, and considers their motions as the senseless and unmeaning convulsions of two madmen. Now, all the time not a finger is moved, not a shoulder shrugged, not a lip compressed or curled, but by rule; that is, without its having a determinate, invariable signification.

The book before us undertakes to classify and describe these various gesticulations, with reference to the Neapolitans in particular. But our observation has satisfied us, that with few exceptions, they may be considered the conventional language of all Italy. We have found them every where but little varied; and in compensation for such as may be peculiar to Naples, we have noticed several, omitted by the learned and amiable author, but common in other parts. The Canonico De Jorio is well known to most of our countrymen who have visited Naples, as much by the cheerful courtesy, which his knowledge of our language enables him to exercise towards them, as by his learned works upon the antiquities of that city and its vicinity. The present work is drawn up in alphabetical order, and gives the different gestures by which every passion, feeling, and idea, is ordinarily expressed. Considered simply in this light, it is an amusing work to any one sufficiently conversant with Italian manners. But its title suggests that it has a higher aim, and attempts to trace in these modern signs the action of the ancients. In fact, almost every gesture described by the classic authors remains yet in use, with the same signification. But the learned author has sought in this conformity between ancient and modern Italians the explanations of mute monuments, on which the relative positions and feelings of the figures represented can only be conjectured from the action which they use. Having established that in general the same gestures have always expressed the same idea, he examines under what feelings the action represented would now be used, and thus decides its meaning on the monument.

These remarks naturally suggest an interesting question,—to what are we to attribute this resemblance between the ancients and moderns? Were these expressive and almost speaking gestures originally invented, and then perpetuated to our times,

or are they the result of a natural connexion between them and the ideas they represent? Are they, in other words, conventional or instructive? To this we reply, that they are manifestly of both characters. Some are doubtless of the latter class—such as striking the forehead in disappointment, or pressing the heart in protestation of sincerity or affection. Others are clearly artificial, such as the expression of “to-morrow,” by a semicircle formed in the air by the fore finger drawn from below upwards. This sign represents a diurnal revolution of the sun, to be completed before the event alluded to takes place. Even here, therefore, we have a clear reason for the symbol; and it is not difficult to discover one in every other instance. In order to ascertain it, we must observe that these gestures primarily are used with words, and form the usual accompaniment of certain phrases. For these, the gestures become substitutes, and by association express all their meaning, even when used alone. Again, these phrases are often metaphorical, and the gesture represents their literal meaning; and thus becomes, when applied to the figurative, a real metonymy. A few examples will illustrate this observation.

Hunger is expressed by beating the ribs with the flat of the hands. This signifies that the sides meet, or are weak from want of something between them. But hunger is a child of poverty; and hence the parent comes to be represented by the same sign. The connexion between the organ of smelling and sagacity is traceable in this latter word, which literally signifies the power of following objects by the scent, as hounds do. The ancients expressed the want of acuteness, or the infliction of a hoax, by reference to the nose,—“suspendere naso,” to hang by the nose, is a common phrase in their writings. This connexion of ideas, real or imaginary, is expressed amongst us, and in Germany, in the same manner as in Italy. The thumb applied to the side of the nose, with the hand extended, indicates, as Cruikshanks well knows, that the party aimed at is little better than a goose. With us, however, the action has no corresponding phrase from which its signification can have been drawn. This is to be found in Italian, in which even good writers express the idea “he was tricked or deceived,” by “*e restato con un' palmo di naso*,” “he was left with a palm's length of nose.” It is manifestly this idea that is expressed by the gesture, which literally describes it, and then follows it in its metaphorical acceptation. The Canonico De Jorio supposes the expression to have arisen from the manner in which the face is thrust forward, with a gaping mouth and staring eyes, (illustrative characteristics never omitted with the gesture) when a hoax

is discovered (p. 72). Any caricature of cockney sportsmen will suggest a more natural explanation, from the simpleton expression which the countenance has, when its middle part protrudes excessively.

But the same useful organ gives rise to another similar figure. Suspicion is expressed, and you are put upon your guard against a person, by the fore-finger of the right hand being placed upon the side of the nose. If you inquire about a person's principles, and are answered, as we remember to have been, by this action, you understand that he "is tainted, not sound :" and the corresponding Italian word "*puzze*," expresses the meaning. On one occasion, when in Italy, we were drawn into a species of altercation by a person who was generally known to be tiresome and fond of dispute. We were not aware of this trait in his otherwise estimable character ; but a friend who saw us getting entangled, walked to and fro before us, but behind the other contending party, making this sign, as though with no particular object. We understood the hint, drew off our forces, and beat a retreat as quickly as possible.

We have seen how the passive participation in a deceit is described ; the active voice has also its expression corresponding to an idiomatic sound. To convey the idea that an individual is deceiving you, a friend will simply place his fingers between his cravat and his neck, and rub the latter slowly with the back of his hand. In the Neapolitan dialect the expression is "*l'a menata dinto allo cravattino*," or "*'ncanna*;" "he has put it within his cravat," or "down his throat." The expression corresponds to our terms *to cram* and *to swallow* ; and the gesture represents, most practically, the enlargement of the oesophagus necessary for conveying the deceit down the patient's throat. Hence, another symbol of the same idea consists in opening the mouth, and pretending to throw something into it from the united fingers of the right hand.

Almost every gesture may thus be traced to some proverbial or idiomatic phrase,—as several other instances in the course of this paper will show. It is indeed necessary sometimes to travel through a long chain of ideas to comprehend a sign. Let us suppose a youth at a window, invited by one in the street to come down and walk, by a beckoning,—not as amongst us with the fingers upwards, which would only mean salutation, but with them turned downwards, and repeatedly moved towards the palm. He answers by placing his hand, with all the fingers apart, before his face. What does this mean ? Why, he thus represents himself as looking through the barred window of a prison, and so communicates to his friend that domestic autho-

rity confines him to the house. In the neighbourhood of Naples, your carriage is sure to be followed by a covey of brats, who, well aware that you probably do not understand their slang, trust much more to the graphic language of gesture to excite your pity. For this purpose, they dispose their fore-finger and thumb in the form of a horse-shoe, and apply their points first vertically above and below the mouth, and then horizontally to its corners, alternating the movement with great rapidity. Unfortunately, the ludicrous woe-begone expression of face which accompanies the action, usually destroys its intended pathos, and prevents even an acute observer from penetrating its poetry. It signifies that the mouth has been cross-barred or sealed up; in other words, that the sufferer has had nothing to eat for a long time.

We remember observing a remarkable instance of quickness in the application of a symbol to a complicated idea, in a ragged little boy at Genoa, whose perseverance in mendicant supplication was rewarded by an Englishman with a *crazia*, a miserable copperfoil coin, half as thin and half as large as a wafer. An English beggar would have, perhaps, at once given vent to his indignation by throwing it on the ground; not so the little Italian. He placed the coin deliberately on the palm of his hand, brought it to the level of his mouth, and, with a roguish look at the giver, blew it away by a sharp puff upon the ground. To blow towards a person or thing is a strong expression of contempt;* so that additional emphasis was given to the less refined mode of rejecting with disdain. But, at the same time, the action substantiated its own motive: the urchin most scientifically proved the cause of his discontent,—the *lightness* of the present. We believe it had a still better quality; it drew a larger coin out of the amused gentleman's pocket.

To illustrate the extent to which this method of expressing ideas may be carried, we may imagine a question, and see how many ways it may be answered. Suppose, for instance, that we wish to ask after the health of one who lies sick in the next room. The attendant's finger pressed upon the lips indicates the necessity of preserving silence. Well, a toss back of the head, with enquiring eyes, and turning towards the door of the room, sufficiently asks the question, "How is he?" The servant stretches out his hand, with the palm downwards, and the fingers slightly apart, and shakes it from side to side. This means "*cosè, cosè*," "so, so." If he moved it more, so as to describe a curve in the air, by turning it at the wrist, the signifi-

* De Jorio, p. 129.

cation would be "*alti e bassi*," "ups and downs," that the patient's state varies considerably from time to time. A shake of the head with a smack of the lips, or with a certain indescribable guttural groan, would indicate that he is very ill: both the hands raised, and, as well as the head, agitated from side to side, would denote that there was no hope. If the movement of both were upwards, it would signify a great improvement. In these gestures, however, the expression of countenance, and especially the eyes, would play an important part. Suppose the assistant to place his cheek reclining upon his right hand, with his left under the right elbow, he thereby tells you that the patient sleeps. If he raises his little finger, pointing upwards, and says, "He is thus," you understand that he is reduced to a skeleton. When at length he answers your enquiry by cutting the air with his hand in the form of a cross, you know at once that further enquiries are useless; their object is no more. And this sign metaphorically expresses the end of a project, the failure of a "concern," the loss of a lawsuit, or any other termination of sublunary affairs.

Ask, now, for example, the character of a man with whom you have to deal, and suppose your adviser to prefer answering by signs:—if he place his finger on his forehead, he tells you that he is a man of sense; if he press his thumb against his temple, leaving the open hand to stretch forward from the side of his face, he indicates his affinity to the long-eared race. If, with his forefinger, he draw down the outer corner of his eye, he intimates that he is a cunning rogue, with whom you must be upon your guard; literally, that he squints, and you can never be sure which way he looks. To denote that he is an honest and upright man, he will stretch out his hand steadily, joining the tips of his thumb and forefinger, as if holding by them scales nicely balanced. If, on the other hand, he hook together the little fingers of both hands, and move these forward, swerving from side to side, and shaking the other fingers, he means to inform you that he is like the crab, which his hands mimic, tortuous in his ways. The thumb pressing on the first joint of the forefinger, as if cutting it off, means that he is "only so large," a man of narrow ideas and little mind. The expressions for good or bad are more difficult to characterise, as they depend much upon the countenance. The negative shake of the finger, with a face expressive of aversion, will mean the latter; the hand thrown upwards, and the head back, with a prolonged "Ah!" the former. If you ask what is become of one whom you have not seen for some time, you may be answered without a word, should the truth be disagreeable. The

head placed forward, with the little finger towards the earth, and so moved up and down, signifies that he is gone away; and the frequency and deliberation of repetition denotes proportionably greater distance. But if the hand, instead of being before the breast, be brought round to the left side, and so make the motion edgeways, directed behind the speaker, it means that he has run away stealthily and escaped. If, placed before, it descend smartly and obliquely, as if cutting something, towards the left side, the meaning is, that he has been punished in some way: if the fists be clenched, and the two wrists crossed over one another, you understand that he is in prison.

We will only put one more case, which concerns the most engrossing of all conversational topics,—money. You will ask if a man be rich or not by an enquiring glance and nod towards him, at the same time that you strike your pocket, or rub the points of finger and thumb, as though counting out money. Your silent friend, by the proper nods, looks, and motions of the hands, tells you "no," or "so, so," or "exceedingly," which last is expressed by a toss of the hand and head, and a half sort of whistle, or something between that and a hiss. Well, suppose the latter; you ask, by word or by look, how he has become so. Your informant, with his thumb, rubs his forehead from side to side, to signify that it was by the sweat of his brow, his industry and application. But perhaps he does not raise his hand so high, but takes hold of his cheek between his thumb and closed fingers, shaking the hand. That informs you, that he has made his fortune by bribery and peculation. He may come lower still, and, doubling up his hand, put his thumb, bent like a hook, under his chin; and you shall understand that he has taken advantage of others' necessities for his profit, having placed a hook in their jaws. Or, the two clenched fists are pressed strongly upon the chest, which means that he has been avaricious, or, analogously to the action, "*close-fisted*." In fine, the fingers are drawn in and closed, beginning with the first, and so to the last, making a species of curve, and the signification is, by theft and robbery. Should the answer have been unfavourable to the person's pecuniary condition, and you enquire the reason, as he was known once to have been rich, the reply may be no less varied. For instance, your informant, joining all the fingers of one or both hands together, as he wishes to be more or less emphatic, brings their tips near his mouth, and then, blowing on them a long deliberate puff, with swelled cheeks, withdraws and throws them open, as though they were blown asunder and scattered by the breath. This naturally indicates that the fortune of which you asked has been dissipated

one hardly knows how, but by general inattention. Should he close up his fist, and, throwing back his head, point repeatedly with his extended thumb towards his mouth, he will assign drink as the sad cause. Should the same gesture be made with the united points of all the fingers and thumb, more solid extravagance, by eating, will be denoted. In fine, if, closing his left hand before his breast, as if holding something tight between its thumb and forefinger, he, with the same finger of the right equally shut, appear to draw that imaginary thing out with difficulty, the meaning is, that gambling has been the ruinous practice; for the action represents a trick which gamesters have in drawing out a card from their hand.

These examples are sufficient to prove how extensive, accurate, and useful this system of signs must be. It will be easily understood that every passion and its consequences,—love and hatred, pleasure and grief, menace and imitation, hope and despair,—has its graphic symbol, as have all the ordinary relations of things, time, space, and circumstance. There are, too, a thousand mimic signs, which are more purely imitative, which the occasion suggests and analogy assists to interpret; for the metaphorical gestures cannot be varied. In Naples, too, there is one class of them which we have omitted, because they would have led us aside into a curious and not unamusing, but certainly irrelevant subject, that of the belief in *Jettatura*, or the evil eye, of which these gestures are the counteractors.* It is evident that a people possessing a language literally at their fingers' ends, must express themselves with wonderful vivacity on all occasions, and possess a resource for communicating their ideas under many circumstances where speech is impossible, and where Englishmen must be silent, or spell words on their fingers by the alphabet of the deaf and dumb. A curious example occurred of this utility of gestures some years ago, When old Ferdinand, the darling of the Neapolitans, returned to his capital after the last foolish revolution, in 1822, he presented himself at a balcony to the assembled multitude of repentant and delighted *lazzaroni*. Neapolitans never speak, they always shout; and, in newspaper phrase, to obtain a hearing was, on this occasion, out of the question. The king, however, was a thorough Neapolitan, and understood the language of the fingers, if he did not that of flowers; so he made his address, for we cannot call it a speech, in it. He reproved them for their past naughtiness, he threatened them with greater severity if they again misbehaved, and, after exhorting them to good conduct,

* See De Jorio, p. 89, 120, 155-159.

ordered them to disperse and go home quietly. Every gesture was understood, without a word, amidst the most deafening sounds. Now, how useful would such an art be upon the hustings sometimes. We fancy we could easily compose a *manual* address to a boisterous constituency, in which, spite of all clamour from the rival party, we could express the usual routine and commonplace effusions of patriotism and zeal: could satisfactorily prove on our fingers that our competitor was unworthy of all confidence; and, with some aid from the nose and cheek, establish an undoubted claim to preference. A little sleight of hand would thus place the most asthmatic candidate on a level with the most stentorian demagogue.

But in Italy this dramatic system need not be taught, it is learnt spontaneously with the language. We have seen little girls of seven or eight repress the forwardness of a younger companion, with a dignity of attitude and correctness of action which would have become an Electra or a Lady Macbeth. Nay, we have been still more puzzled by seeing a blind man, the appearance of whose eyes convinced us that he had never enjoyed sight, make the very gestures which we have described, as correctly as if he had learnt them by imitation, and not by intuition. Often the gesture is not perfectly made but only indicated by approximating to the attitude it requires. It is thus better concealed from those who are not meant to perceive it, and forms a sort of *demotic* to the hieroglyphical expression in which the symbol is rather hinted than actually represented. But the part which the eye plays in this noiseless loquacity is most important, yet most indescribable. In Sicily, indeed, it is so powerful as to supersede all other means of communication; for long and complicated interviews may be carried on without any other aid. It is believed that the Sicilian Vespers were concerted, throughout the island, without the exchange of a syllable, and the day and hour for the indiscriminate massacre of the French fixed by interchanges of looks and perhaps a few signs. Thus we may say, that if the Italian communication by gesture is a species of telegraph, that of the Sicilians resembles more a system of signals by lights, equally complete, though more difficult to describe.

In discussing this subject we have drawn more upon our observation than upon the Canon's book, which, however, has ever been at our side, to form a corrective, when necessary, to our recollections. There is another part of his task in which we would gladly follow him more closely, did room permit: in the application of modern gesture to the illustration of ancient art. But we know not how we well could do this without copying his plates, which are almost necessary for fully understanding this

part of the subject. Suffice it to say that his researches prove the system of action to have been identical in ancient and in modern Italy. The different positions of the hand described by Quintilian, Apuleius, and other classic authors, are yet in use; the figures painted in the celebrated Vatican Terence represent the very action which would now be employed with the words they utter; and the scenes on Greek vases, or reliefs, tell their own story to an eye practised in the mysterious language of gesture.

This, we apprehend, is enough to give some real interest to what we have treated in this article as matter of mere curiosity. For it must be as important to the antiquarian to decypher this symbolical speech, as the crabbed legend, over which he may pore for hours, till he fancies he has made a plausible conjecture. But there is another aspect under which this subject may be viewed, of still more general interest; we speak of its utility in understanding and appreciating later Italian art. On this point De Jorio has naturally said nothing, because it regards foreigners rather than his own countrymen, who understand it. We could easily give instances of this application of Italian gesture to works of art; we will content ourselves with one drawn from a real master-piece, the most *speaking* picture probably ever painted. Universally admired as Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper is, one of its principal beauties will be overlooked if the action of the figures, as expressive of their words and sentiments, be not understood. Take, for instance, the figure of Judas. The gospel gives us two characteristics of him, that he was a thief, and carried a purse.* The latter mark was easily seized on by every painter, and meant as emblematical of the first. Yet the sacred text represents the two as distinct. The genius of Leonardo alone contrived to keep them so in painting. In his right hand the traitor holds a purse; but his left is extended and slightly curved, in the very position we described as denoting theft, which in reality is imitative of the pilferer's act in drawing to him, and enclosing within his hand, the thing which he steals. The painter too, by a clever device, left no doubt of the import of the action. For while all the rest of the bread on the table is of a coarse quality, he placed one white loaf just beyond Judas's hand, as the object towards which it was tending. By this simple expedient, he not only defines the action, but gives us the most contemptible and detestable idea of the avaricious wretch, who could thus take advantage of the confusion which his master's home-driven declaration of a traitor being among the company

* Jo. xii. 6.

made, to pilfer a miserable morsel of finer bread. And in fact his attitude seems to represent him as looking round to see whether all are so engaged, that his hand, moving in an opposite direction from his eye, may perpetrate the theft.

If from this perfect incarnation of baseness we turn to the principal figure, the purest and sweetest expression imaginable of superhuman excellence, we have the attitude and action exactly required in loving expostulation; the hands thrown down with the palm upwards, and the head bent forward and inclined to one side. No other action could possibly so well express the words: "one of you is about to betray me." It was a master thought of the artist's to select this moment for the subject of his picture of the last supper. Generally the institution of the blessed Eucharist is chosen, which allows no room for the play of human passions, and must unite the expression of all the countenances in a common sentiment of love and adoration. But the moment here chosen, immediately after our Saviour had uttered the words just quoted, admitted every variety of expression, and a greater action. On his right we have St. John in the deepest attitude of affectionate grief,—that is, with his hands crossed into one another.* But Peter's predominant feeling is fervid zeal; pressing upon the back of Judas, treading upon his brother's foot, he urges John by the most energetic gesture to ascertain exactly who the traitor is. Any Italian would at once understand this upon seeing the fore-finger pressed upon John's breast. At the same time, his right arm a-kimbo, with a knife in its hand,† too well expresses a determined purpose of defending, if necessary, by violence the life of his master. Another of the apostles, however, meant for James, seizes his shoulder to draw him back, while of the two other figures on that side, Andrew raises his hand in an attitude expressive of astonishment mingled with horror, and Philip, standing up, leans forward to ascertain the cause of a commotion, which his distance has not allowed him to hear. On the other side of our Saviour there is equal expression: one apostle is in the act of asking earnestly who is the wretch, and Jude, beside him, no less earnestly protesting his own innocence. His head leans on one side as he presses his

* De Jorio, p. 203. "Palmulis in alternas digitorum vicissitudines connexis, ubertim flebam," says Apuleius, p. 43. St. Gregory attributes the same attitude to St. Scholastica, when her brother refused her request that he would stay with her: "Insertas digitis manus super mensam posuit," the very attitude of John in the picture.

† See De Jorio, p. 200. It has been sometimes supposed that the knife is a later addition, when the painting was restored; but it is given in engravings anterior to the oldest retouchings.

hands to his bosom, appearing at the same time to open his vest, desirous to lay it bare before his master. The last figure on this side manifestly expresses that he considers the thing impossible, the position of the hands and head are such as, in Italy, would signify such a doubt; and the person standing up, by pointing with both his hands to our Lord, while his head is turned towards his incredulous companion, no less plainly answers him by appealing to the express declaration of their Redeemer. Another between them is more calmly assuring him of the fact.

We have dwelt upon this sublime work of art, and selected it from a thousand others, both on account of its truly eloquent character, and because it is better known than most pictures, through the many prints and even medallions published of it. It is evident that an artist who wishes to paint an Italian scene, or who desires to rival the expressiveness of the great masters, should be fully acquainted with this language of signs, as practised in their country. Instead of the dry and almost inanimate colloquies held among us, every knot of talkers there presents a group with varied attitudes, expression, and gesture ready to be drawn. It is the "pays de cocagne" of artists, where, if the streets are not paved with gold, living pictures run about them, seeming to call out, "Come and sketch me." A study of its peasantry is worth a thousand abstract treatises upon action and expression.

But we think such a study would be generally beneficial both in private and in public life. In the first place, it would rid us of the elegancies of our present elocution in both. It would annihilate the race of button-holders.* An Italian has no hand left for this "argumentum ad fibulam;" he wants all his fingers to himself, without one to spare for thus grappling you, as the Romans did the Carthaginians in their first naval engagement. There would be an end too of all string-twirling, by being deprived of which it has been said that celebrated pleaders have lost important causes; and which Addison somewhere describes in hustings' eloquence, as "cheapening beaver," by turning and displaying, to gaping spectators, all the phases of a hat, its crescent-shaped rims, and its full rotundity of top. But seriously speaking, we do think that our pulpit eloquence would be greatly improved by a study of Italian gesture; of action, not considered as the poising of limbs alternately or by given laws, the stretching out of the right hand at one member of a sentence, and of the left at another, as silly books on elocution describe, but of action considered as language addressed to the eyes, which as definitely

* We recollect to have heard of a celebrated Professor of Experimental Philosophy having suspended an address to a philosophical society, by turning to the attendant with the words—"John, fetch me my *lecturing stick*." Armed with this baton the address was no longer a failure.

conveys ideas through them as the words do through the ears, and which consequently rivets the spectator as much as the auditor, and makes men long to *see* the orator. The oratorical action of Italy is substantially the same as the colloquial, only performed with greater deliberation, dignity, and grace. Hence it is not the result of study, but rather of attention. It is perfectly dramatic, and often represents the action described by the words. If, for instance, a book be appealed to, the left palm is displayed, while the forefinger of the right appears to trace the lines upon it, or the entire hand strikes upon it to express defiance joined to the appeal. The speaker will appear to listen to a heavenly concert when he describes it, or to look down with horror into the place of torments if he draws a picture of its woes. To a stranger there seems to be often exaggeration in all this, and we own that we sometimes have seen representative action carried to excess. But the good taste of the natives is disgusted by such exhibitions, except perhaps in ruder districts; and on the whole, we should say that the action of the Italian pulpit is as removed from vulgarity or caricature on one side, as it is from tameness and insipidity on the other. The fingers, indeed, which are of little use to an English speaker, whose action is chiefly in the arm, are in constant use, especially in enumerating or dividing a subject. This is the sort of gesture which appears most offensive to Northerns, yet it is the one given by the immortal artist before-mentioned to his exquisite Christ, now in the National Gallery, and the one that can be most accurately traced to classical times, through the descriptions of their writers.

The more indeed that we compare ancient and modern Italy, the more we discover the minute analogies between the two, and the resemblance of character, habits, and feelings, between their inhabitants. We have been occasionally surprised and delighted to discover this in the ordinary manners of the people, in actions or phrases generally overlooked by travellers. We remember, for instance, being at a loss to explain the custom of visitors, who, finding your room-door ajar, are not sure if you are within, opening it with the salutation "*Deo gratias*," "thanks be to God." An officer of the Roman custom-house, who reached an English gentleman's apartment, after thus exclaiming at every door of the suite, was supposed by the gentleman to be announcing his own name, and used to amuse his friends by telling them, how through the whole interview he was politely addressed as "*Signor Deogratias*." We used to think it a rather inappropriate salutation, as more in the form of an answer than of a first address. But we were soon reconciled to it, on finding in St. Augustine, that the ancient Christians always saluted with the same words,

and were ridiculed for it by the Circumcellions, who substituted the formularey of “*Deo laudes*,” “praise be to God.” The holy father enters into a long vindication of the Catholic salutation.* Thus has a familiar little custom been jealously preserved in social intercourse from the fourth century at least, and probably from a still remoter antiquity.

But we must really put an end to our unintended garrulity; for we have seen the phantasm, or “*simulacrum*,” of our reader, for some time back, drawing its closed fists towards its breast, and throwing its body back, as if pulling in a runaway horse, to signify to us that we must stop, or must go on without him. Or we may have reason to apprehend, lest some one who has long since noticed these matters, should put his thumb to his chin and wag his expanded hand before it, perhaps tacking to its little finger the thumb of the other equally left pendulous, by way of telling us that all we have said is but an *old story*; or, what we imagine still more probable, lest a great many may let their arms hang listlessly down, and heave a sigh which only escapes in a puff through the half-closed lips, all which we should unerringly interpret to the effect, that we have inflicted on them that untranslatable species of the genus *BORE*, “*una solennissima seccatura*.”

ART. II.—1. *History of Ireland*, by Thomas Moore, Esq.
London. 1835.

2. *History of Ireland, from the Invasion under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain*, by Francis Plowden. New Edition. London. 1831.

3. *History of Ireland, from the earliest period to the year 1814*. By Stephen Barlow, A.M.

4. *Inland Navigation, &c. of Ireland*. By C. W. Williams, Esq. 2d Edition. Dublin. 1833.

5. *Report of Commissioners of Shannon Navigation*, 1836.

6. *Report of Committee of the House of Commons on Lighthouses*. 1834.

7. *Return to an Order of the House of Commons for Evidence before Revenue Commissioners relative to Irish Western Harbours*. 1834.

8. *Other Parliamentary Documents*.

THERE is no triter and no sadder truism, than that the history of Ireland is a melancholy recital. The most eager lover of his country, when he looks back upon what Ireland has

* Enarrat. in Psalm. cxxxii. tom. viii. p. 630, ed. Louv.

been through the long dim reach of past ages, can find but few places upon which his eye can rest with pleasure, and when he lights on such at times, the contemplation is soon darkened and saddened by the murky cloud of misfortunes and of miseries by which they are surrounded. One solitary brightness is constant and pervading—but it is not of things belonging to this world. It is the attachment, unceasing, uncompromising, once triumphant, long-suffering, of the Irish people to their religion—the ancient faith of Christendom. In all political matters, the review is melancholy indeed. In the earlier times, a myriad of petty wars, dethronements, assassinations, invasions by northern pirates, miseries from divine visitations and from the hand of man. In later times, throughout the black record of English possession of our island, every variety of outrage and tyranny inflicted by the stranger, domestic divisions fomented and encouraged, treacheries the vilest and the most savage not only practised but gloried in, desolating and ruinous civil wars, crushing and grinding laws, and all the long arrear in our heavy account against England. Looking back and seeing, on the one hand, what the history of our country has been, from the remotest period that it notices, down to the present day; and, on the other, beholding what that country and her people are, the first impulse would almost lead us to question the decrees of Divine Providence. A country blest by nature with every thing that is requisite for prosperity—fertility in her fields, noble harbours opening along her coasts, a mild and genial climate, and rivers winding in numbers throughout her whole extent;—a people, hardy, industrious in the extreme, brave, cheerful, kind-hearted, and sincerely attached to their religion;—surely it is not speaking in an idle strain of prophecy to say, that a mighty future is in reserve for Ireland and her children, to compensate for all the dreary annals of their bygone sufferings and mishaps. Such a future is in reserve for her; the horizon before us is brightening rapidly with the first rays of its advance. The time is fast coming when she will no longer be a Pariah among the nations of the earth. An irresponsible branch of the legislature may for a time obstruct the passing of rightful laws, and cast insults on the Irish nation—a once powerful, but now declining, party may resist the advance of improvement to the last; but not more certainly did the waters of the tide spread on and cover the strand, despite the mandate of the Danish monarch, than will the happy times in store for our long suffering country arrive, triumphant over every obstacle by which her enemies endeavour to arrest their progress. “Arise, my beloved, the winter is o'er, the rains are all past,” are the beautiful words of

Scripture that we would apply to our native land, in no light or profane spirit, but in deep earnest and with confidence and truth.

Ireland has, until recently, engaged very little of the attention of the modern world; and even now, it is only some actual struggle of hers that is noticed—her position, her capabilities, in one word her *future*, are yet but the contemplation of some among her own children. This is natural enough, for the generality of mankind think of little that is not instant, and pressing on their notice. Some voyagers, of a speculative temperament, foretell, from the silent, never-ceasing labours of the coral worm in the tropical seas, the formation of future continents and islands; but the majority of seamen think on the subject only when the submarine mountain is towering up to the surface and endangering vessels on their course. Even so it is with Ireland. Fast rearing her head from the darksome depths of despair, and soon to lift it high towards the heavens, the mighty growth is all unnoticed and unthought of, until some ancient prejudice makes sudden shipwreck on it, and then men wonder at their blindness. Napoleon was not singular in his obstinate misapprehensions upon this subject. Even at the present day, many, not of foreign birth, but natives of the sister-countries, know and think less of Ireland than of Jamaica, the Cape of Good Hope, or the new settlement at the Swan River. The ignorance that foreigners display is more excusable, but also even more profound. The experience of any of our readers, who may have conversed with them on the subject, will furnish abundant instances. The pride of the great Roman orator himself could not have had a sorer downfall, when, on returning from his self-lauded Sicilian government, he was asked whether he had not been journeying in Spain, than ours had, in an attempt to fathom the depths of a Frenchman's knowledge of Ireland. His ready answer was, “*L'Irlande, c'est un des comtés de l'Angleterre, près de l'Ecosse, n'est-ce pas?*”

That in ancient days we attracted attention, let one of the most celebrated of the old Roman writers bear testimony. Comparing Ireland with England, his words are—

“*Melius portus, aditusque per commercia negotiatoresque cogniti. . . . Si quidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam, Hispaniamque sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem, magnis invicem usibus miscuerit.*”—*Tacitus, Vit. Agricol. cap. 24-28.*

It would seem strange that a country which a Roman could so well appreciate was not brought under the wide grasp of

Roman authority. But a reason existed in the very wideness of that grasp. The effort to establish themselves in Britain had cost the masters of the world too dear. Even in the southern parts of the country, their authority was often and seriously menaced by insurrections of the people and invasions of northern barbarians. Meantime in North Britain the Roman sway could scarcely be said to exist. The indomitable Picts waged there a constant warfare, and compelled the haughty invaders to confess their impotency by seeking shelter behind a line of fortification. The vast wave that had overspread the known world was rendered shallow and powerless by reason of its extent. An island separated from Britain by a stormy and dangerous channel, and peopled by fierce and yet unwasted tribes, seemed too formidable an achievement to the war-wearied legions of Rome, and their historians easily gilded over their reluctance to the hazardous enterprise of invasion. But had they penetrated into Ireland, they would not have been the first strangers that visited her shores. Their old enemies, the Carthaginians, had been before them. The wild stories, in Irish chronicles, of invasion and settlement of the country, by Milesius, are gradually losing ground, even in the reluctant minds of those who have nothing save the fond fancies of former glories to compensate for present lowness of condition and destitution. Other countries have had their epic bards, but Ireland as yet is without one. In the fulness of time, some gifted son of hers may arise and claim the vacant wreath, should the spirit of his age prove more tolerant to *length* in poetry, than does that of the present. To him the invasion of the Milesians, their conquest, laws, and institutions, will prove a rich mine of yet unworked material—to the plain truth-telling prose historian these are legends such as amused his childhood's ear. Yet like all traditions of the dim early annals of all nations, there was for them some foundation in fact. Strangers of Phœnician origin did visit the shores of Ireland, but they came more in the guise of merchants than in that of fierce and reckless invaders. The natural facilities of that country for commercial purposes, could not be lost upon men who were not deterred by the iron-bound coast of Cornwall; and there is much and sound reason to believe that our southern and eastern coasts were the scene of a commerce busy and extensive, considering the state, in those very remote times, of countries that are thought to have been better known.

We cannot better conclude our observations on these points, than by some extracts from the first volume of Moore's *History of Ireland*, a work that bids fair to add laurels fresh and bright as any that even he yet has won, to the well-merited honours of

"The Bard of Erin." Speaking of Festus Avienus, a writer of the fourth century, he says:—

"Having access to the Punic records, he collected from thence those curious details which he has preserved in his Iambics, and which furnish by far the most interesting glimpse derived from antiquity of the early condition of Ireland. Though the description be somewhat obscure, yet the Celtic names of the two great islands and their relative position, leave no doubt as to Britain and Ireland being the two places designated. The commerce carried on by the people of Gades with both is expressly mentioned by the writer, who adds, 'The husbandmen and planters of Carthage, as well as her common people, went to those isles.' In his short, but circumstantial sketch, the features of Ireland are brought into view far more prominently than those of Britain. After a description of the hide-covered boats, or curraghs, in which the inhabitants navigated their seas, the populousness of the isle of the Hiberni, and the turfy nature of its soil, are commemorated. A proof of the earlier intimacy which the Phoenician Spaniards maintained with Ireland, is to be found in the geography of Ptolemy, who wrote in the second century, and derived chiefly from Phoenician authorities, his information respecting these islands. For while in describing Britain, more especially its northern portion, this geographer has fallen into the grossest errors, in his account of Ireland, on the contrary, situated as she then was beyond the bounds of the Roman empire, and hardly known within that circle to exist, he has shown considerable accuracy, not only with respect to the shores and promontories of that island, but in most of the details of the interior of the country, its various cities and tribes, lakes, rivers, and boundaries. It is worthy of remark, too, that while of the towns and places of Britain, he has, in general, given but the new Roman names, those of Ireland still bear on his map their old Celtic titles; the city of Hybernis still tells a tale of far distant times, and the Sacred Promontory, now known by the name of Carnsore Point, transports our imagination back to the old Phoenician days. When it is considered that Ptolemy, or rather Marinus of Tyre, the writer whose steps he implicitly followed, is believed to have founded his geographical descriptions and maps on an ancient Tyrian atlas [See *Heeren's Historical Researches*, vol. iii. Appendix C], this want of aboriginal names for the cities and places of Britain, and their predominance in the map of Ireland, prove how much more anciently and intimately the latter island must have been known to the geographers of Tyre than the former. The record that Ireland was called the 'Sacred Island' is of the remotest antiquity. It carries the imagination very far back into the depths of the past, yet not further than the steps of history will be found to accompany it. The 'ancients,' through whom the fame of the 'Sacred Island' was handed down, could have been no other than the Phoenicians of Gades, and of the Gallician coasts of Spain, who, through so many centuries, had reigned alone in those secluded seas, and were the dispensers of religion, as well as of commerce, wherever they bent their course."—*Moore's History of Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 7-12.

These are but a few passages hastily taken from Mr. Moore's long and able dissertation upon the earlier annals of Ireland. We would recommend a perusal of all that he has written upon this subject, displaying as he does throughout great keenness of research and excellence of judgment, in addition to the other high qualities he has long been known to possess. We trust at a future day to bring before our readers a more exclusive and extended notice of his valuable work, when it shall have made a little further progress.

If then, it may be asked, Ireland were so much known in times of remote antiquity, and her commercial capabilities appreciated and brought into play, why is she not now, and why has she not been in later times, a great commercial country? The reason why she is not, and has not been so, can be given very readily—it is simply because she has been misgoverned. The world is fast abandoning at present many old and grievous errors in political doctrines. The old fallacy of the balance of trade is exploded—protections and restrictions are at length found and acknowledged to be quite as much and frequently *more* injurious to those in whose favour they have been established, than to those against whom they were intended to operate. The smuggler has given us rough lessons as to the *impolicy*, in every respect, of heavy taxation. Universal tolerance is beginning to be considered a better bulwark against dangers resulting from religious differences, than savage persecutions. All these mistakes, and many more, have had a long existence in England. Firmness in old convictions, and tardiness in adopting new, have ever been her characteristics, often to an excessive and most lamentable degree. Her eyes are but now opening (after seven centuries of criminal blindness) to the better policy, even *for her own interests*, of a better conduct towards the sister-island. She was long blind to this, and acted accordingly. While oppression was deemed practicable with impunity to herself, it was persevered in recklessly and relentlessly. Were there wild and restless spirits among her sons in early times?—she sent them forth to seek adventure and fortune in Ireland. Did they find themselves in danger and difficulty by reason of their misdeeds and outrages in the invaded land?—she backed them with her power, and they were encouraged and instructed to use the arms of treachery and deceit, where open violence was impossible. Did the outraged and exasperated natives complain and remonstrate?—they might as well have clamoured to the winds. When the monarch was inclined to hear their prayers, he was sure to be hindered by his ministers. The prudent Edward the First was well inclined to accept the

“8000 marks” tendered to him by the Irish people, as the purchase money of their admission to equal laws and equal rights. He readily commanded his viceroy to enter into the negotiation, and though he seemed inclined to drive a hard bargain [witness his injunctions to get “the highest fine of money you can obtain upon this account, and also a body of good and stout footmen to be held in readiness when we shall think fit to demand them”]; yet, to do him justice, he was willing to perform his part of the contract. But his council opposed all his efforts, and finally baffled him, for it was their interest that spoliation and oppression should continue unrestrained. The spirit of English legislation towards Ireland, generally, can best be described by Mr. Plowden (from whose pages we have taken the above extract), in his *History of the latter country from the time of Henry II until the legislative Union*. In his account of the reign of the warrior-king, Henry V, he thus writes:—

“In the relation in which the two nations stood to each other, an intercourse and exchange of inhabitants frequently took place. The seat of empire, and its superior opulence and cultivation, held out attractions to the Irish to flock to England in search of employment and promotion. Ireland, on the other hand, as a new conquered country of great fertility and extent, in proportion to its population, held out temptations to the adventurous and indigent families in England. The English parliament, in the fourth year of this reign, through jealousy and prejudice at the influx of Irishmen, passed an act imposing penalties on Irish prelates, for collating Irishmen to benefices in England, or bringing Irishmen to parliament, lest they should discover the counsels of England to rebels. This unjust act, which seems almost inoperative on the face of it, was extended so far beyond its letter and spirit, that occasion was taken from it to expel indiscriminately all the Irish, without distinction, not even excepting the students of the inns of court, who were thus excluded from the study of the very laws by which they were to be governed. Every measure was carried into execution, however extravagant, that suited the ministers on either side of the water, who appear, to the observer of Irish government, uniformly from the invasion, to have systematically had a thorough understanding with each other in the mal-administration of Irish affairs.”—*Plowden's History of Ireland*, p. 153, vol. i.

As years rolled on, and with the gradual weakening and falling to pieces of the feudal system, trades and manufactures began to raise their heads, and give promise of their subsequent luxuriant growth, did a knot of merchants or manufacturers in England find their concerns not flourishing as they wished—the home market better and cheaper supplied, or foreign markets anticipated—their first glance was to Ireland; and if that un-

happy country had any similar branch of trade or manufactures, loud was their cry to have it crushed, and the field left solely to themselves. The British legislature was ever prompt in attending to their demands. Mr. Pitt once and truly described Ireland as “a country for ages deprived of its own resources, and rendered completely subservient to the interest (*as then understood*) and opulence of England.” But in this he published no new discovery. What he announced was long and shamefully notorious, and had even been boasted of, and recommended as a system to be followed up. So early as the reign of Richard the Second, there were indications of this, while commerce and manufactures were as yet almost in their infancy. The system was fostered, and from time to time put in practice during the succeeding reigns, without, however, very open or decided declarations of its expediency and propriety, until towards the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was unblushingly avowed and recommended. Sir William Temple, in the year 1673, thus wrote to the then viceroy of Ireland: “Regard must be had to those points wherein the trade of Ireland comes to interfere with the trade of England, in which case the encouragement of such trade ought to be either declined or moderated, so as to give way to the trade of England.” For a compendious and detailed account of all that has been done, from the earlier times of the connexion down to a late day, with the sanction of the British legislature, to cripple and fetter Irish industry, we would refer our readers to a publication entitled, “*Hints to Hardinge;*” forming one of a series of excellent political tracts, from the pen of Mr. Staunton, editor of the *Dublin Morning Register* newspaper. For these and similar writings, Mr. Staunton well deserves the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen.

Sir William Temple’s advice was most fully acted upon by the boasted “Deliverer,” William III. What says Mr. Plowden? The English parliament had addressed the king against the work of Mr. Molyneux, which boldly asserted the right of Ireland to legislate for herself:—

“The House (English House of Commons), in a body, presented an address to the King, enlarging in terms of great indignation on the book, (Mr. Molyneux’s,) and on the dangerous tendency of the proceedings of the Irish parliament; beseeching his Majesty to exert his royal prudence to prevent their ‘being drawn into a precedent, and to take all necessary care that the laws, which directed and restrained the parliament of Ireland in their actings, should not be evaded.’ The address concluded by assuring him of ready concurrence in maintain-

ing the subordination of Ireland, and its dependence on the Imperial Crown. The king promised, in his answer, to do what was thus required of him."—*Plowden*, vol. ii.

Subsequently they presented an address, complaining of the improvement of Ireland in woollen manufacture, to the "great endangering of that staple commodity in England;" and they supplicated him to adopt effective measures to remedy this evil. The "Deliverer's" answer was as follows: "I shall (said his Majesty, on the 2d of July, 1698,) "do all that lies in me to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland." Accordingly laws were passed to prohibit "the exportation of wool and woollen manufactures from Ireland, on pain of confiscation, imprisonment, and transportation, and by which no acquittal in that kingdom of any offence against these statutes, was allowed to be pleaded in bar of any indictment upon them within the kingdom of England." (*Plowden*, *ibid.*)

The best commentary upon these acts of the "Deliverer," will be found in Barlow's History of Ireland.

"Encouragement was to be given, by way of compensation, to the Irish linen and hempen manufactures; yet none such was given for full six years after; and in the course of time, the growth and manufacture of hemp and flax were so favoured in Scotland and England, that these countries outrivalled Ireland. But the most fostering indulgence to the Irish never could have compensated for the loss of their woollen manufacture. Wool was abundant, produced with little trouble or expense, and manageable without risk. The preparation of flax is delicate and precarious, the importation of the seed exhaustingly expensive to a poor country, the crops liable to failure from unsound seed and other circumstances, and the culture found in Ireland, by experience, to be most unprofitable. The Irish woollen manufacture could never have injured the English, since, from well-known circumstances, the greater part of the advantage would have accrued to the latter. The immediate effects of the prohibitory laws were poverty and distress to the Irish. Human affairs, however, are so contrived by Providence, that the effects of injustice revert to its authors. Deprived of the means of subsistence in Ireland, thousands of Irish manufacturers emigrated to France and other countries, where they assisted the inhabitants in the increase and improvement of their woollen cloths, and established correspondents, by which means vast quantities of Irish wool were carried clandestinely to those countries.

"Thus the foreign demand for English woollens was prodigiously more lessened than it could ever have been by any exertions of Irish industry at home; the French were enabled, not only to support their own demands, but even to undersell the English markets in other nations; and thus for every thousand pounds of profit that Ireland was deprived of, by being refused a participation with England in this

trade, the latter country lost at least ten thousand."* — *Barlow*, p. 284, &c.

Well might Mr. Plowden exclaim, as he does in one of his notes, paraphrasing the Latin author's words :

“ Oh, fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint
ANGLICOLE.”

The English had at length the conviction of their error forced on them by bitter experience. But a long time elapsed ere they would acknowledge it, or any one of the other numerous mistakes of their conduct towards Ireland. Many of these they are only beginning to perceive at the present day, and some few yet remain in all their primeval darkness. Those, already exposed and acknowledged, England is fast abandoning. We do not write in a wilfully invidious spirit, when we attribute the abandonment quite as much to self-interest as to any other cause. Nations are not much given to taking, for the rule of their conduct, the dictates of abstract benevolence and right. In earlier times, there was the offer of “ eight thousand marks” to purchase justice and fair play—in all times since the invasion, there have been the much-enduring loyalty, the cruel sufferings, the earnest and repeated and pathetic remonstrances of the Irish people, pleading for nothing but simple “ *Justice to Ireland*,”—all these did most lamentably fail. What she refused to them, England is at length conceding to a better perception of the consequences of denial. She at length perceives, and the conviction is gaining strength upon her, that in crippling and fettering Ireland, she has been, in fact, crippling and fettering her own right arm; and that, by timely concessions, she can have those for friends and firm allies, who for centuries were

* “ The preamble of the statute 10th and 11th William III, declares, that ‘*forasmuch as wool and woollen manufactures of cloth, serge, baize, &c. are the greatest and most profitable commodities on which the value of lands and the trade of the nation do chiefly depend, and whereas great quantities of the like manufactures have of late been made and are increasing in the kingdom of Ireland, and are exported thence to markets hitherto supplied from England, which will inevitably sink the value of lands, and tend to the ruin of the trade and woollen manufactures of this realm—for prevention thereof no person shall, directly or indirectly, ship off, &c. &c. any wool, woollen manufactures, drapery, &c. under penalty, &c. &c. forfeiture of ship, &c. &c. of £500 for every offence.*’”

Such was the nature of the English statute—the Irish parliament subserviently passed similar laws, crushing their own manufactures. “ Common sense, (continues Mr. Barlow, vol 1, chap. x. pp. 271-302,) tells us the Irish parliament did this under conviction they should receive ample protection for their linen trade; but what moonshine would such encouragement be, if England, departing from the letter and spirit of that compact, had encouraged her own linen trade to rival that of Ireland. Yet this she did, and, even by the 23d of George II, *laid a tax on sail cloth made of Irish hemp.*”

accounted enemies, to be dreaded and guarded against. The results of concession hitherto, justify her in persevering in the good work she has begun. She finds herself relieved from the constant fear of intestine convulsions, and she beholds new and unthought of resources for the entire empire, developing themselves in Ireland, under the fostering care of good government. That country has always had within her great elements of prosperity. Mr. Barlow states, that "from the establishment of the acts of settlement and explanation, Ireland had rapidly increased in wealth and improvement, till she was again laid waste by the revolutionary wars under William III.; and even from this calamity she was recovering with such quickness, that in 1698, the balance of trade in her favour amounted to between four and five hundred thousand pounds. But the effects were permanent, of the restricting laws, then and subsequently passed, and insurmountable by the fertility of the soil, the ingenuity of the inhabitants, her navigable rivers, and her multitude of harbours." (*Barlow*, vol. 1, p. 290.) Now, those restrictions being taken off, her industry can at length exert itself, and all her natural advantages are free to be brought into play. What may not her future be!

Of the agricultural capabilities of Ireland it is needless to speak; they are well known and long acknowleged. Her climate is long confessed to be more genial, her soil more fertile, than that of the sister country. Her very bogs are pronounced by Parliamentary commissions, furnished with the best engineering evidence, to be easily and profitably reclaimable,—far more so than the fenny lands and marshes of England. It has been calculated that five-eighths of her waste lands could be brought into permanent and most productive culture, while much of the remainder would admit of some improvement. If we then would consider her commercial and manufacturing capabilities, we have but to look at her geographical position, thrown out as she is, in advance of Europe, and opening wide her numerous ports to receive the trade of America; possessing every requisite to be a *depôt* for the commerce of the two worlds, while her lakes and rivers offer to the manufacturer a water-power that no country of her extent can parallel. The small map published with the recent reports from the Commissioners of Irish Fisheries Enquiry, gives but the principal lakes and streams,—yet what a display is there, and how melancholy to reflect on, is the state of total neglect and unimprovement in which the great powers there to be seen, are suffered still to remain. Mr. Wye Williams, in his *Observations on the Inland Navigation of Ireland*, says on this head:—

"As to the means which Ireland possesses of creating internal trading intercourse,—besides the Barrow, the Suir, the Boyne, and many other navigations, we find one prominent feature—one great leading line of available navigation—the *river Shannon*, running through the centre of the island, and offering advantages of a double coast. Yet this first and most imposing feature in Ireland's statistics remains comparatively unproductive as a means of internal communication and trade. One half of it almost unknown, and the districts through which it passes for one hundred and fifty British miles above Limerick, deriving no aid from its navigation except in a few situations."—p. 14.

..... "The river Shannon, unequalled in the British empire, embraces two hundred and thirty-four miles of continuous navigation; and from the circumstances of its running through the centre of the kingdom, may be compared, for the purposes of intercourse, to *double that length of coast*; to more than the entire eastern coast of England. The great feature of this extraordinary river is its diversified character. For a distance of sixty miles from the sea to the city of Limerick, it presents a magnificent estuary and tideway, without bar or other impediment whatever, and with a flood equal to the height of twenty feet at the city walls. This part of the river possesses several deep bays and inlets, and receives the waters of several rivers, some of which enjoy the tideway for a considerable distance up their channels, and all are susceptible of great improvement. By these, the benefit of water conveyance may be extended to many rising towns, and extensive, rich, and populous districts. The great estuary of the Fergus, extending ten miles to the town of Ennis, here pushes the benefit of navigation into the centre of a district unrivalled in Britain for depth and fertility of soil..... This river washes the shores of the county Clare for more than sixty British miles, without accommodation of almost any kind, save at Limerick, for shipping intercourse. The same may be said of the southern shore of this noble stream, notwithstanding the many favourable situations that shore presents.

"Above Limerick, the navigation for fifteen miles to Killaloe, is part still water and part river. From Killaloe to its source in the county Leitrim, the river assumes a great variety of character. In some places it stretches into inland seas, two of which are above twenty British miles long each. Again it forms a succession of small lakes; and lastly, in many situations, it approaches almost to still-water navigation. Throughout its course, it possesses the rare quality of having a sufficient depth of water for all purposes of internal intercourse.

"The Shannon, with such unquestionable latent resources, presents a lamentable picture of great neglect, great misapplication of power, great ignorance of its resources, great want of enterprize, and even worldly wisdom, on the part of its natural protectors and patrons. It washes the shores of ten counties out of thirty-two, all of them abundant in population, and susceptible of great agricultural improvement; and although many of them are periodically exposed to the greatest distress, and even famine, yet they are without the power of mutual relief and co-operation."—*Mr. Wye Williams' pamphlet*, 1833, pp. 20-30.

Mr. Williams is most fully borne out in all his opinions by

Colonel Burgoyne, and other gentlemen of high reputation,—and by the result of all enquiries, parliamentary or otherwise, into the subject. The Commissioners for the Improvement of the River Shannon reported last year strongly upon the neglected state of that river, and its capabilities:—

"The state of the Lower Shannon, from the sea to Limerick, and of the Fergus, has been very minutely described by Captain Mudge, R.N. in his reports of 1831; the navigable channels are good, with the exception of a few points, which can be improved at a *comparatively small expense*; but they are exceedingly deficient in beacons, buoys, and marks to guide vessels; neither is there any conservation of the navigation, nor any funds applicable to its improvement. These two rivers are, properly speaking, great estuaries.

....."The most interesting and important part of the Shannon is between Killaloe, in the county Clare, and as far as Jarmonbarry, in the county Longford, a distance of eighty-five miles, the fall is but sixteen feet. Here the Shannon presents the character rather of a chain of large and deep inland lakes than that of an ordinary river. This portion comprehends the great lakes of Lough Derg and Lough Ree, and receives the tributary streams of the Scariff, Woodford, Ballyshrule, Brusna, and Suck, forming together a vast extent of waters, which, at present, with the exception of Lough Derg, is very deficient as a medium either of navigation or drainage. The two canals of Ireland also open into this portion. Were this division of the river improved, the navigation above and below it would be brought into immediate and extensive action. To effect this great object would require two locks only, three weirs, four swing bridges, and the clearing a few obstructions in the river; in doing which many thousand acres of valuable land could be secured from floods, and the agriculture, trade, navigation, and intercourse of a vast extent of country greatly improved..... If all the other divisions were completed, and this division left undone, little or no general benefit would be effected; but if this were completed, and all the others left even in their present state, a great public benefit would be gained."—*Shannon Commissioners Report, 1836.*

Had we time and space, we could add abundantly to this testimony. In fact, the testimonies are so numerous and strong, from the best authorities, as to the internal capabilities of Ireland, that it is most difficult to make a selection of the best. We by no means pretend to have given all those of the greatest importance; but, we trust, that even the curtailed passages we have given, will impress our readers with the same deep convictions that we have ourselves.

Of the numerous harbours of Ireland, many require nothing from the hand of man to fit them for the reception of the largest ships; while such as do need improvement, might be made of the first class in utility with one-fourth, nay, we hesitate not to say one-eighth, of the attention and expense that has been

lavished upon almost every creek along the English coast. There no expense is spared in erecting piers and breakwaters, buoying dangers, providing warping anchors and posts, &c. The same care is taken in providing coast lights; and all this in many instances to provide for the reception of small coasters. The following is from the Appendix to the Report of the Light House Committee of the year 1834, and is an official document.

"Lights in the United Kingdom."

ENGLAND :

	<i>Light Houses: Floating Lights.</i>		
Lights under Trinity House . . .	43	...	13
On Lease from ditto	3	...	1
On Lease from Crown	7	...	
Held by Act or Patent	4	...	
Local or Harbour Lights . . .	51	...	4
Total	108	+	18 = "126"

SCOTLAND :

Light Houses.

Under Commissioners of Northern Lights	25
Local or Harbour Lights	28
Total	53 = "53"

IRELAND :

Light Houses. Floating Lights.

Under Ballast Board	23	...	3
Ditto Harbour Lights	9	...	
Ditto ditto, without revenue . . .	5	...	
Total	37	+	3 = "40"

Thus we see that England has more than three times the number of lights that are to be found in Ireland; and that even Scotland, though far less "*in the gangway*" of commerce, boasts a superiority of thirteen. One of the most important of the Irish lights was not erected till within a very few years back, and at the urgent remonstrance of English ship-owners. We allude to the Skellig light, on the south-western coast. It is exhibited on a rock about a league and a half from the nearest land, and three leagues from the nearest harbour. The rock is considered the most westerly point of Europe; and very generally the first landfall made by vessels from America, is in its neighbourhood. The Florida Gulf stream too, about the direction of which there has been so much controversy, has been

supposed by many to strike Ireland at this point; and, however that be, this much is certain, that the great body of the western tide divides at that rock, in two mighty streams, that go respectively "north-about" and "south-about," encompassing Ireland, (the southern branch forming the chief stream that supplies the Bristol and the Irish channels,) till they meet each other again upon the north-eastern coast. Several disastrous wrecks, attended with very considerable loss of property and life, (one or two upon the rock itself, and many in the neighbouring and perilous bay of Dingle) at length drew attention to the necessity of doing something, and ultimately the present most useful and valuable light was erected.

It would far exceed our limits to enter into a detailed description and comparison of the harbours of the two countries; yet we cannot avoid some notice of this subject. We take the harbours of Cork and Liverpool. The following is a parliamentary return of the number of ships, with their tonnage, that have entered those ports in four years:—

YEARS . . .		1833.				1834.			
		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.	
LIVERPOOL .	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	
1719	397,933	828	227,087		1803	410,502	906	250,360	
CORK	144	29,271	20	2,603	149	29,245	18	2190	
YEARS . . .		1835.				1836.			
		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.	
LIVERPOOL .	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	
1973	438,515	874	261,747		2169	517,172	809	269,837	
CORK	155	27,721	31	3587	147	25,949	27	3415	

Let us now examine whether there is anything in the natural condition and position of these ports that can account for this difference. The harbour of Cork, generally called the "Cove of Cork," is a splendid basin, fit for the reception of the largest vessels of the navy, and easy of access and of exit. A vessel leaving it can be, in a very few hours, in the open ocean, well clear of all land. The harbour of Liverpool, on the contrary,

is beset with a thousand dangers and difficulties, even to a steamer. In the words of that book which is in the hands of every master of a vessel, entitled *The Seaman's Guide, and Coaster's Companion*, the entrances of Liverpool are "extremely difficult and intricate, being obstructed by numerous and extensive sand banks. The *principal* of these are, the Hoyle Sand, the Burbo Sand and Flats, the Jordan Sand, the Middle Patch, the Formby Point Flats, &c. &c." A glance at the chart presents an awful spectacle; shoal after shoal, danger after danger, besetting every approach; and all the information and efforts of man sometimes baffled by the shifting of the sands. The most thorough landsman that has ever made the passage between Dublin and Liverpool must have remarked the anxiety that prevails among the crew, even of the well-appointed government steamers, as they approach the mouth of the Mersey,—the strictest look-out kept, men sounding at both gangways, and all the indications of extreme precaution. Frequently, too, the mast of some hapless vessel, appearing above water but a few fathoms from the steamer's course, betrays the proximity of the hidden and perilous shallows; while numerous lights, gleaming from the land, attest at once the carefulness of man and the necessity of attention. Yet these are not all the dangers. The outward bound vessel may have safely passed all these, but she has then before her a long and stormy channel, with perils menacing her on either hand. The prevailing westerly winds make a lee shore to her of the English coast, of which a seaman of long experience (Captain Hugh Evans, harbour-master of Holyhead) thus speaks, in his evidence before the Select Committee on Shipwrecks, that sat last year:—"In St. George's channel, not a harbour, except Milford, from the Land's End to the Clyde, fit for large ships to run for. Holyhead is the best; yet I have particulars of *thirty* on shore in Holyhead Bay, twenty totally lost, with many lives." Those vessels bound to the westward, that go round, as some do at times, the north of Ireland, have a shorter stretch of channel to encounter, but also one of exceeding danger and difficulty; and require favouring winds of some days' duration ere they are well clear of all land. If the channel could be cleared in a day or two, the perils would be of much less consequence; but, unfortunately, a vessel may be a week, or even three weeks, beating about it with adverse winds, and be at length forced back to Liverpool, or have to seek precarious shelter in the bay of Holyhead. It is a well known fact, that the outward bound and homeward bound have often been twice,

and sometimes even thrice, as long in the Channel as they were in all their open sea passage. Masters of ships have often declared that their troubles never really begin till after they have made the coast of Ireland, and approach the Channel. Were they bound to the Irish ports, immense would be the saving of property, of time,—above all and before all, of human life. The Report of the Select Committee on the Western Harbours of Ireland, establishes a triumphant case in this respect. We quote first from the evidence of General Sir Howard Douglas, formerly governor of New Brunswick, in which capacity circumstances connected with communications between England and her American dependencies, compelled him to give a great deal of attention to the subject. We subsequently quote from the evidence of the Right Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, a gentleman who had given it very peculiar and close attention.

"I think the point of departure should be the westernmost point of the United Kingdom; for, notwithstanding the improvements daily effecting in steam machinery, it is of the first importance that the voyage should be the shortest possible. It appears to me that the harbour of Valentia, on the s.w. coast of Ireland, would be an important point for departure and arrival.

"*Question.* Has the establishment of steam between America and England been much discussed in the former country?

"*Ans.* Very much so indeed; it has excited very intense interest, and is looked to with very great solicitude."—*Evidence of Sir H. Douglas.*

The Knight of Kerry says,—

"It occurred to me that steam navigation might be made applicable to a communication between the West of Ireland and New York; and I accordingly instituted enquiries as to its practicability by reference to the best authorities. I saw several Americans who were acquainted with steam navigation, and who all concurred in my opinions. Amongst the rest, Mr. Rush, American minister to England in 1824. He stated that he had no doubts on the subject, and considered that the steamers between New York and New Orleans had a far worse and more dangerous passage than that of the ocean would be to Ireland. In the course of our investigations, I ascertained that the British colonies were dependent on the United States for almost the entire of their communication with the mother country, and the post office communications were conveyed to Nova Scotia by the *West Indies*. All the colonists and merchants trading to the colonies were loud in their complaints of this, and wishing that our plans might succeed. American captains assured me, that, on their voyages from Liverpool, when they reached the longitude of Valentia, they considered half the passage and all the dangers as passed. Valentia is a saving of 300 miles, as compared with

Falmouth. The difference of sea passage from Halifax to Liverpool, compared with that to Valentia, would be between 300 and 400 statute miles of the worst part of the navigation. The average losses in the Channel are computed to amount to 340,000*l.* annually.

Q. "In the ordinary voyage from Halifax to Liverpool, are you aware how near vessels approach to Valentia ?

A. "In their ordinary course, they would pass within thirty miles; but it is now the practice to make the Skellig light, nine miles to the s.w. of Valentia. The difference between the distance from Valentia, as compared with Liverpool, from a port in America, would be even greater in a sailing vessel than with a steamer. In comparing the purpose of steaming, either from Liverpool or Valentia, the difference in length of passage would require either a considerable enlargement of the Liverpool vessel [for the purpose of stowing fuel, &c.], or she must necessarily stop at some southern or western port of Ireland to take fuel in, which would occasion a delay in the navigation."—*Evidence of Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald.*

We are obliged, by our limits, to curtail much of the valuable evidence of those witnesses, in order to have room for the evidence of a professional man, Captain Beaufort, R.N., the hydrographer to the Admiralty, and one who, to use his own words, had been "at sea all his life."

"The first object of vessels bound to the Mediterranean or West Indies, in adverse winds, is to get far enough out of the Channel to be able to adopt either tack without fear of the land. The next object is, when once fairly out, to gain sufficient westing to fetch round Cape Finisterre. Now, by sailing from a port on the west coast of Ireland, both these objects are secured. In comparing the coasts of the two countries [England and Ireland], Ireland has this advantage, that a vessel once out of any of her western ports, can weather the land either on one tack or the other.... The winds are a feature of considerable importance in the comparison. Taking the average of the last ten years, there were in each year 186 days of westerly, and 101 of easterly winds; and the general mean wind for the whole period was s. 83° w., about one sixth of the year. Just, then, in the ratio of this prevalent wind is the advantage of preferring a western harbour, besides that arising from the conformation of the coast. I have drawn up a tabular statement of this, extracted from the Meteorological Register of the Royal Society in London.

"*Q.* Are you in possession of any facts on which to estimate the difference generally in sailing to the southward and westward from a more westerly harbour, compared to one within the Channel ?

"*A.* I have had a sheet of "tracks" projected, on a small scale, from the log-books of several packets which had to contend with foul winds in crossing the Bay ; and, supposing that other vessels had sailed from a port on the s.w. coast of Ireland at the same time, and were affected by the same weather, I have shown their comparative progress in a series of tracks in red ink.

	Time from Falmouth.	Time, if from a s.w. port of Ireland, with same winds and wea- ther.
The "Camden," to Monte Video, sailed Nov. 24, 1824, having been detained two days by westerly gales	2 days' detention, and passage, 13 days; total - 15 days	5 days.
The "Spey," to Barbadoes, April 4, 1829	Passage, 12 days	$4\frac{1}{2}$ days.
" Lady Louisa," to Rio, June 26, 1826	$9\frac{1}{2}$ days	$4\frac{1}{2}$ days.
" Goldfinch," to Madeira and Rio, April 7, 1828	8 days	4 days.
" Lady Louisa," to Jacquel, May 23, 1827	10 days	$3\frac{1}{2}$ days.
" Hope," to Barbadoes, Dec. 9, 1828	14 days	7 days.
" Lady Louisa," to Cadiz, March 10, 1826	$6\frac{1}{2}$ days	$3\frac{1}{2}$ days.
" Duke of Marlborough," to Lisbon, Jan. 27, 1826	14 days	6 days.

* "The average result of these tracks, in thirty instances, gives about $4\frac{1}{2}$ days in favour of packets from Ireland. But celerity is not the only point of contrast; the saving of four or five days in the wear and tear of the vessels, and in the health and comfort of the passengers, are considerations of much weight.

" Q. Are you aware of cases of great mischief to the public service in the course of the last war, derived from embarkations within the channel, compared to what would have been the effect from the west coast of Ireland?

" A. This question leads to a subject of the highest importance; and I am sorry my time has been too much occupied, to search for the proofs which the records of the last war would abundantly furnish, of the disadvantages of embarking military supplies from Channel ports. The detention, however, of Rear-Admiral Christian, is proverbially known. He sailed from Portsmouth, with an expedition for the West Indies, on the 16th of November, 1779, and, after having been repeatedly blown back, did not ultimately clear the Channel till the end of the following March. Every seaman must recollect innumerable instances of such detentions; and every soldier will recollect the havoc produced in the health and discipline of the troops, when long cooped up in transports. Should we be again engaged in active hostilities, the benefits from embarking at a western Irish port would be incalculable.

" Q. Do you consider that there would be, in case of war, greater security against an enemy's cruisers for packets sailing from a western harbour of Ireland, than from one in the Channel?

" A. Whatever shortens the voyage of a packet must of course diminish her exposure to hostile cruisers; and the further the packet station from the enemy's ports, the safer for the packet.

* Capt. Beaufort's examination continued.

"Q. Would there be, in unfavourable winds, great benefit in the return packets, as well as their departure, by choosing a westerly harbour?"

"A. The same reasoning applies to the homeward bound as to the outward bound.* Their distance to run would be shortened. When struggling against adverse winds, they would have open sea-room; they would avoid the indraft of the Bay of Biscay, and all the injurious effects of the N.W. current across the mouth of the Channel; and, on one tack or the other, they could fetch under the west coast of Ireland, and thus make it a "weather shore," which in no case can be done with the coast of England during easterly gales. A collection of home-bound tracks, similar to the one of outward bound tracks that I have already presented, gives an average difference of five days in favour of an Irish western harbour.

"Q. What you have stated refers principally to sailing vessels; in what degree would that opinion be altered or affected by the vessels used being steamers?

"A. In no very great degree; for though a steamer succeeds in getting to windward against the wind, yet it has a most powerful effect in checking her velocity when against her."—*Evidence before the Commissioners of Revenue, referring to the Western Harbours of Ireland.* 1830.

A fearful commentary upon this evidence of Captain Beaufort's would be found in the long sad account of calamities in the channels, that appears in Lloyd's list. We will delay our readers but with a brief notice of two recent cases, fresh in the memory of all. The *Jane and Margaret*, outward bound, left Liverpool on the 5th of February in the present year, with a fair breeze and having 200 passengers aboard, besides her crew. On the 14th, exactly nine days afterwards, she was descried a total wreck on some rocks on the Wexford coast, and of all the crowd of human beings that tenanted her, not one has survived to tell the story of her loss. The *Glasgow*, another large outward bound vessel, left Liverpool with favouring gales, much about the same time, and after being delayed nearly a fortnight beating about the channel, was ultimately wrecked and eighteen of her crew perished. In both cases the fair wind that took them out of harbour lasted upwards of twelve hours, a space of time that, if they had sailed from an *ocean-port* of Ireland, would have brought them clear by many leagues of all land and far upon their course.

* Capt. Beaufort speaks here, as he did before, of vessels not bound to or from North America *alone*, but vessels to or from South America, the south of Europe, India, &c. In recommending the port of Valentia, he states, that besides the advantage of being the most westerly point of Europe, it has one great requisite as a packet harbour, viz., having, as at Spithead, two ways of exit. Valentia harbour has these both easily practicable; is "an excellent receptacle for shipping; and is capacious, safe, and land-locked."—See *Evidence*, &c.

In the computation mentioned by Mr. Fitzgerald of loss in the channel, the loss by *delays* has not been taken into account, although it is a very important item. Vessels have lost weeks in the channel, while goods aboard were deteriorating, markets becoming forestalled, and advances and engagements failing to be met. The delays of ships that have long sailed from America are adding to the confusion in which matters are in the present mercantile crisis. Were vessels, instead of risking the dangers and detentions of channel navigation, to run at once, on getting their first landfall, into the secure and noble harbour of Valentia, time, which in fact is *property*, would be saved, as well as the actual goods themselves, and human life would not be so frequently and so fearfully sacrificed. Were even railroads to fail as lamentably as some people predict, the common roads might be made available for the transmission of cargoes, either to warehouses in Ireland for a time, or to her eastern ports to be shipped for England, while despatches, mercantile advices, and passengers, would reach Liverpool in a shorter space of time than the most favouring breezes could impel a vessel round the coast. What the opinions in Liverpool itself are on this subject, may be inferred from the fact, that a scheme was for some time in serious contemplation there of a canal navigation across Ireland, to escape the dangers of the channel.

But the prosperity of Ireland does not depend *solely* on the chances of her being made a dépôt for the commerce of Europe with the new continent. Were the merchants of other countries to remain blind to their own interests, they and they alone would suffer. She can safely trust to her own future commerce. She possesses every requisite that can be imagined. Her geographical position is good—her harbours numerous and excellent—her coast population hardy, enterprising, and industrious in the extreme. On this head the evidence before the Fishery Commissioners is triumphantly conclusive. To quote the various testimonies would be to write a volume nearly as bulky as the Report itself, for they occur in every page. The Irish fishermen brave the sea in all weathers, in the miserably rigged and fitted craft which alone are within the compass of their most scanty means. Theirs is even a more desperate struggle for subsistence for themselves and families than that of their brethren, the labourers on shore. In an equal degree with the ill-requited industry, courage, and perseverance that they display, is their kindness of heart amongst themselves, and their readiness to do anything for those who show a disposition to treat them well. What they would be if they had fair play may be judged from the fact, strongly attested in the Report, that such of them as have

been forced by poverty to emigrate to America, not only earn there a comfortable subsistence for themselves, but are enabled to send money to their friends in Ireland, from the fruits of their fairly requited labours. Were it not for the sad consequences of long misgovernment in their native land, these poor emigrants would have profitable employment at home, and while ensuring their own comfort, would be adding to her wealth. Her impoverished condition renders her as yet unable to employ their labour, as it does to avail herself of all her other resources. This will not always be so. There is a bright reverse that we yet shall see to the dark picture of what she has been. Harbours empty and neglected—abundant streams and noble rivers wasting their idle waters, instead of making them a blessing as they flow—mines known to exist and yet their treasures left locked up from human uses, or worked feebly and incompetently—vast tracts of valuable land lying unimproved and desolate—a people the most industrious—the most patient—the fondest of their country, labouring under the cruellest want—occasionally hurried into turbulence by the savage goadings of oppression—or self-exiling themselves from their families and homes—such is the picture that Ireland *has* presented. What she will be may be presaged from a consideration of all her resources, capabilities and advantages, brought out and developed under the fostering influence of good government, that has even already begun to spread its beneficial effects throughout the land.

In considering Ireland as she will be, it were a heavy omission to refrain from all notice of her legislative prospects. The old reckless assertion that her people do not care for the restoration of their independent legislature, is long since exploded and abandoned. An unwilling confession to their anxiety for it was wrung by the force of conviction from the present Lord Hather-ton, when secretary for Ireland, in the year 1834. The confession was made too at a time when, on account of the approaching discussion in the House of Commons of the Repeal question, it was very desirable to keep up, if possible, the delusion in England that the Irish generally were well contented with the existing order of things, or at least indifferent on the subject of the coming debate. At present the demand for legislative separation is not dead, but sleepeth;—it is restrained, because the Irish people, ever fond of fairness and of justice, have resolved to give full trial to the experiment of legislation for them at a distance. We fear that experiment is failing. The natural indifference of nations to the welfare of any other but themselves, prevails in England, with regard to her sister country, as it did in England, with regard to the quondam dependencies in America. There are indeed many Englishmen ready and willing, and

heartily willing, to give "Justice to Ireland," but these excellent men are in a minority. The indifferent and the inimical are the majority. The proofs are multiplying around us every day. The House of Lords suffered to go on, year after year rejecting every measure of relief for Ireland, no matter how small and inconsiderable the concession. Then election after election in England, going with the bitter opponents of the great principle at stake in the legislative arena, the principle of "Justice to Ireland." Newcastle was loud and warm in its declarations on this subject; the townsmen seized the opportunity of Mr. O'Connell's journey to Scotland, to express, by compliments paid to him, their deep sympathy with the cause of which he is the advocate, and their determination to lend their aid in the effort to redress the grievances of Ireland. A vacancy in the representation of the town occurred within a few months after—whom did the much-professing men of Newcastle elect—a friend to Ireland and a Liberal? No—a Tory, and one whose every vote on questions relating to that country has been given in hostility to her. Since then we have had the cases of Evesham, Buckinghamshire, Rossshire, Lewes, and others, in all of which the opponents of justice and freedom have been triumphant. We will not detain the reader with reciting each of these, but turn at once to the recent "*damning proof*" of indifference or hostility to Ireland, pervading the English constituencies. In Westminster, the boasted head-quarters of liberalism, the stronghold that baffled the Tories in the height of their power and influence, and returned for years the man who advocated *English* liberties;—in Westminster a contest has been between this man, now renegade to the principles of his life, and a Liberal, young indeed, but still one who has already proved in parliament his devotion to the good cause. The former, with all an apostate's proverbial zeal, outdid even his new friends the Tories in denunciations against the claims of Ireland, and thus made them the subject of the conflict. The election came on—and by a majority of near *six-hundred*, the men of Westminster, the men who had vanquished and baffled the Tories in all their "pride and place," now returned the renegade Liberal, the enemy to Ireland, and thus announced to the world that they would not give that country "justice."

The experiment is thus, as we have said, failing. Yet the Irish people are content still to continue it—at the same time the desire for a separate legislature is silently and every day more and more gathering strength deep within their bosoms. The day of open declaration seems hurrying on, and when it comes, those who dream that a Repeal of the Union is a bygone wish will be rudely awoke indeed and astonished at the force that will

then be developed. No anxiety to avoid an unpleasant topic of consideration, no feelings of involuntary and almost innate haughtiness towards what they deem an inferior country, should prevent rational-minded Englishmen from contemplating the possibility of the revival of the cry for a dissolution of the legislative union. Let them of this be assured, that that cry will not be raised again until the Irish people deem it their only resource before the "ultima ratio," the appeal to arms, to which we trust they will never be forced to have recourse. Let them of this also be assured, that in proportion with the patience—the submissive and persevering expectation of "justice" from the United Parliament, that the men of Ireland have evinced, during the last three years, through all the taunts, insults, injuries, and rejections that have been heaped upon them—in proportion with that patience is the deep concentration of their resolves to right themselves, if others will not right them—and in the same proportion will be the energy and the power with which they will pursue their determination to its accomplishment. Now is the time for counselling and deliberating. If the total repeal of the union be absolutely inadmissible, is there no intermediate measure—can no compromise be effected? The federal system is succeeding in America—are there any circumstances in the condition of these countries to render it a failure here? A recent careful investigator into the state of America, M. de Tocqueville, in his *Démocratie en Amérique* demonstrates that to ensure the well-working of a federal system of government, the chief requisite is the enlightenment of the people. Surely the inhabitants of the United Kingdom will not confess to the charge of being behind the Americans in point of intelligence and civilization. They are well and abundantly qualified to deal with their own local affairs, and to choose whom to send, as the best representatives of their opinions on matters of general importance and interest, to a general senate in London. Would it not ensure a far closer attention to the general concerns of the empire at large, if the multitude of local matters were taken from the cognizance of the Imperial Parliament and left to the management of "Houses of Assembly," one sitting in each of the three kingdoms. The manner in which business is gone over at present is preposterous and unseemly, and at the same time unavoidable. The Imperial Parliament has by far too much to do, and is encumbered with too great a crowd of members. The number of the latter is a serious obstacle to business;—the noise—the bustle—the impatience—the crowd—all these obstruct and annoy the really "working" men, and impede legislation. Yet how is this number to be reduced? Will England consent to have her representatives lessened? Ireland certainly will con-

sent to no diminution of hers. She has at present little more than the fifth of the number belonging to the former country, while her population is two-thirds of that of England, and two of her members cannot be said to represent her, as they are sent into Parliament by her small and solitary university, which has always been inveterately hostile to her interests. Irish writers contended thirty years ago that she was entitled to *one hundred and sixty-nine* representatives, and even Lord Castlereagh declared she ought to have one hundred and eight, although he took care to give her no more than one hundred. She, therefore, will consent to no reduction unless England reduces first, and that in a much greater proportion. It is very doubtful if the latter country will consent to this. A better remedy would be found in the adoption of the federal system, which would at the same time reduce the business to be done, and afford an opportunity for a fairer adjustment and a lower amount of members. These results are each of much importance. The most casual glance at the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons demonstrates the absurdity of the present system of dealing with the business of the country. We make no selection, but copy down the first page that meets our eye.

"Monday, April 24th, 1887.

"Orders of the Day.
 Forgery Bill, *second reading.*
 Offences against the Person, *do.*
 Stealing from the Person, *do.*
 Burglary Bill, *do.*
 Piracy Bill, *do.*
 Burning or Destroying Ships, *do.*
 Punishment of Death, *do.*
 Transportation for Life, *do.*
 Pillory Abolition, *do.*
 Poor Relief Ireland, *do.*
 Shire Halls Bill, *committee.*
 Imprisonment for Debt, *do.*
 Exchequer Court, Scotland, *do.*
 Exchequer Officers Compensation, *do.*
 Registration of Voters Bill, *do.*
 Gardiner's Divorce Bill, *do.*
 Court of Session, Scotland, *do.*
 Small Debts, Scotland, *do.*
 Sheriff Courts, Scotland, *do.*
 Ways and Means, *do.*
 Supply, *do.*
 Judges Opinions' Bill, *report.*
 Recorder's Courts Bill, *do.*
 Canada, Committee thereupon.
 Supply Resolutions, *report.*
 Consolidated Fund Bill, *third reading.*
 Newark Estate Bill, *do.*
 Wills Bill, *second reading.*
 Judicial Factors, Scotland, *do.*

Twenty-nine Orders of the Day.

"Notices of Motion."
 Enquiry into New Poor Law.
 Papers relative to Canada.
 Religious Instruction in Scotland.
 Amendment relative to Canada.
 Amendments of various kinds relative to
 Bills in the Orders of the Day.
Number of motions, 14.

PUBLIC COMMITTEES.
Longford Election, committee.

First Fruits, *committee.*
 Education (Ireland), *do.*
 Metropolis Police.
 Fictitious Votes (Ireland).
 Deptford and Dover Railway Subscrip-
 tion List.
 Poor Law Amendment *Six.*

Private Committees on Roads, Railways,
 Canals, Dock, &c. *Twenty-three.*

Six reports of Private Bills, two second
 readings of ditto, and two third read-
 ings.

This, the first instance that we lighted upon on opening the file of "Proceedings," is by no means an exaggerated case,—it is a very common one. There is even a facility about it that is not always to be found. The first nine bills are all of the same character, and many of the motions relate to bills in the order of the day. The case is far worse frequently,—and especially so, when, after an evening on which the House has been "counted out," all the "dropped" orders and motions of that day come in to swell the list of business for the one following. A stranger might ask, "At what time *can* you adjourn, if you have all this business to do?" The answer would be, "My dear sir, all this is *not* done,—for it could not be done—nor one half of it." Some matters are slurred over, some given up in despair of getting through with them; but two or three matters out of all that list receive attention, and that perhaps from about a hundred (often much less) of the whole number of six hundred and fifty-eight members. Under a federal system, the local Houses of Assembly, meeting in their respective counties, would give undivided attention, each to the particular concerns of its own portion of the empire,—while a general congress, or "Imperial Parliament," if that designation be better liked, would meet in London, and there transact all matters of a general and imperial nature. Let not these speculations be hastily deemed idle; a time is not far distant, when the choice may be between the adoption of the system they refer to, and a recurrence to the old plan of separate and co-equal legislatures; and the very probability that such a call may be made, cries out with trumpet tongue to us to be prepared to meet the crisis, and make the important election.

We have spoken of the agricultural, the trading, and the manufacturing capabilities of Ireland; but there remains yet one point that ought to be taken into consideration when speculating upon what that country may yet be. It is the character of her people. This has been much run down and decried even by many of those who style themselves "friends to Ireland." We do not now speak of the opinions of the lower orders of Englishmen, including in that "*lower order*" men of all classes of society, from the highest to the most humble, whose minds are bigotted, inveterately and wilfully, against "Ireland and the Irish." We speak of persons of enlightenment and intelligence, and generally liberal ideas,—many of them leading men and public characters of the day. We speak of such men, biassed as we believe them to be, not wilfully, not inveterately, but almost *innately*, and without their own knowledge, against Ireland, and all things relating to her. They *do* consider the Irish

as, at least at present, an inferior race,—degraded by long misrule, oppression, and persecution, and therefore not yet able to go alone in political affairs. Posterity will hold a different opinion. History will show them a people ground-down, oppressed, and ill-treated, in the most savage manner, for centuries, holding fast to their ancient faith and their nationality through all,—ever seeking justice, prompt to forgive the cruellest injuries and to be reconciled,—ready and generous in believing in kindness,—slow to credit the foul treachery they so often experienced,—patient, long-suffering, but persevering, in spite of every discouragement, and working out with a determination invincible, and at length irresistible, the restoration of their liberties. History will tell of a peasantry, the poorest and most destitute in the world, sacrificing all the hopes and the very sustenance of their families, by braving, election after election, the worst fury of their tyrant landlords, and voting as their conscience and their country's welfare dictate, while their English brethren allow themselves to be sold like sheep at the shambles. What is the state of things at this moment? A government exists indeed in Ireland willing to do good, but having little beyond the *will* to recommend it. Its power is curtailed by the open efforts and secret intrigues of the foul faction whom it displaced. The just and beneficial measures that it would dispense with balming and healing influence over the land, are mangled or rejected by the adverse House of Lords. Its arm is fettered down, and unable to stretch forth to give relief, save by instalments, miserably small. Meantime the peasantry are harassed and goaded to the uttermost, by the exactions of the clergy of a different faith; the blood of the many tithe martyrs is yet reeking on the ground, unavenged; the Orange corporations are yet rioting in all the plenitude of unchecked and perverted authority; landlords are vieing with each other in oppression and outrage; calumnies, the foulest and the basest—insults the most galling—all are heaped upon the Irish people, their country, and their religion; and yet, never since the invasion, was there a time of such quiet—such abstinence from all crime, and such obedience to the law. This is no quiet of exhausted energies, of submission to wrong, or of despair. It is that of a generous confidence in their rulers—of a common consent not to embarrass them by any acts of turbulence, however provoked, that might give a vantage-ground to the common enemy. Beneath this surface-quiet, there is a mighty concentration of power and resolve; there is a moral combination, silently but steadily, going on throughout the land; and the vain men who wilfully mistake this self-controlling magnanimity, and this deep silence of deter-

mination, for the death-like peace of hopeless submission, are madly playing on the edge of a volcano, upon the very eve of explosion. The nation that thus in the midst of misery and suffering stifles its complaints, and turns its ear from the almost justifiable promptings of anger and revenge,—the nation that shows such an example of much-enduring patience and of a resolution that can “*bide its time*,”—that nation is fitted, if ever any were, to govern itself, and ensure its own freedom and prosperity. Through the long reach of ages, Ireland's worst calumniators have confessed her to be ever fond of “justice”—that justice she must ere long achieve for herself, and by its dictates she will ever regulate her conduct. The delay of concession is dangerous as it is futile—it *must* be made at last. Let bigots prate and flippant orators declaim—the people of Ireland have only to persevere a little longer in their steady course of unflinching reasoning, magnanimous and determined patriotism, and they *must* accomplish, and that far sooner than their oppressors dream of—the ultimate and entire recovery of their long lost liberties and rights.

Since the above was written, the news has reached us of the death of His Majesty William the Fourth. Be his good qualities now alone remembered, his errors forgotten. He was the best of his race that have worn the crown: the only one indeed, who, when on the throne, displayed zeal for the interests and happiness of his subjects. His youthful successor has with her the wishes, the hopes, the hearts of this mighty empire, and they are but her due. Bright and fair as her prospects and herself, are the expectations now blossoming in the bosom of every true Irishman; and the justice they have been so long denied will come, “blessing both the giver and receiver;” and doubly sweet from the hands of her whom they regard with deep respectful affection and love. Doubt and fear, and every bad and desponding feeling are now cast aside. The people of the United Empire know that their young queen has inherited all the virtues of her truly-lamented father, and the careful education she has received from her excellent mother, with all they as yet know of herself, gives a strong and cheering confidence, that a brighter time has arrived than ever yet these countries knew, and that peace, liberty, and happiness, will mark and bless the reign of Victoria.

The law of the land at such a juncture as the present, requires the speedy dissolution of the existing parliament and summoning of a new one. These events are expected to take place about the middle of this month (July). Ireland is ready for the

struggle; she expects that her sons will do their duty; and willing and determined they are so to do. Scotland is buckling on her armour, and has given us the last Glasgow election as earnest of her resolve not to be wanting to the good cause. How will England act? We will boldly say, she will act as becomes her;—she will redeem the disgrace of the recent Conservative triumphs, and exhibit herself to the world awoke from the fatal supineness that might lose her the brightest gem of her crown; ready for the good fight, and determined not again to seek repose till every stain of injustice and dishonour is wiped from her escutcheon. The Tory faction will no doubt be desperate and reckless, and spare no effort to stop, or, at least, impede, the progress of improvement. But the will of the three united nations was too powerful for them before,—they were beaten in spite of every advantage; beaten when they had the monarch with them, the country divided and disheartened, and all the offices of the state filled with their ardent and unscrupulous partizans. Since then, the liberal cause has been gathering strength by the operation of the registries, and the influence of the newly enfranchised municipal corporations. Above all, it has been gaining strength from the steady and irresistible advance of that upon which it is based—the great principle of justice. "*Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*" With this for their watchword, and with united and resolute hearts, the people of the empire will go to the battle against the fell spirit of Toryism, and they will come out of the contest successful and triumphant.

ART. III.—1. *Primitive Tradition recognised in Holy Scripture*, a Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, at the Visitation of the Most Worshipful and Rev. W. Dealtry, D.D. Chancellor of the Diocese, Sept. 27, 1836. By the Rev. John Keble, M.A. Second edition. London. Rivingtons. 1837.

2. *The British Critic*, No. XL. (Oct. 1836.)

IT is ever our desire to treat religious subjects with becoming seriousness; and to meet all controversial antagonists in a meek, and consequently in a courteous, spirit. There may be apparent exceptions to this rule. Sometimes the rudeness or effrontery of those who assail us is far more remarkable than their arguments; and it becomes our duty to disarm them of the advantages which these qualities unfortunately confer on men

who appeal to public passion or vulgar prejudice. On other occasions they have endeavoured to take an unfair advantage, and thought to disgust or terrify us from the field, by shaking before our eyes some Gorgon shape, which they affect to hold up as the likeness of our religion, instead of brandishing the keen and polished blade of honourable warfare. As in the first case duty has compelled us to deal with our adversaries as a knight of old would have done with a churl that assailed him with base ungentle weapons, so have we in the second acted as he would have done with a necromancer that sought to prevail by philtres and poisoned charms; and in either instance have made our onslaught, without admitting our opponents to participation in the rights of controversial chivalry.

But there are others, whom, though engaged on the same side, we would not willingly treat in like manner. If the conventional law of such lists as we now enter allow us not to lift up our vizors, and declare who we are; if the cognizance which we at present bear be that of an order, of our religious community, rather than of an individual; not the less do we claim credit for personal sincerity when we say, that we take the field without a particle of any feeling that could cloud the purity of devotion to the truth. We have no desire of any triumph over *the men* whose principles we are about to examine—we shall regret if a word escape us that could reach their feelings with pain; and we shall even endeavour to harden our own against the ruffling impressions, which allusions, phrases, and charges, wherein they occasionally indulge, are apt to make upon them.

That a sermon delivered on a solemn occasion by a distinguished clergyman of the Anglican church on "primitive tradition" should excite our attention, and call forth our remarks, will not be matter of surprise. But we may be asked, upon what grounds we unite it in a common article with the miscellaneous contents of a critical journal? Though we might plead the privilege of our caste, as reviewers, to have no law but our good will for heading our articles, we waive this plea, and are willing to descend to an explanation of our motives. We have ourselves been too lately sinned against by the unwarrantable attribution of our articles to individuals, who have been made responsible for their contents,* not to be anxious to avoid a similar injustice

* Dr. Whittaker, for instance, has thought proper to make Dr. Wiseman responsible for an article on Catholic Versions of Scripture, in our second number. "I cannot pretend to follow you," he says, addressing this gentleman, "through the account which you have thought proper to give in your second Lecture, and in the last (second) number of the Dublin Review, of the Versions of Scripture." (A series of Letters to the Rev. N. Wiseman, D.D. Letter II. p. 170.) After analysing the

with regard to others. We do not intend to consider Mr. Keble as personally concerned in the opinions which we may quote from the 40th number of the *British Critic*, though we do not suppose that we shall make a single extract from it that he would disavow. But this being the organ of the Church party to which he conspicuously belongs, we think it will be in our power to illustrate the doctrines, and correct the statements, which his interesting discourse contains, through the fuller developments to be found in the article referred to.

The article in the Review, which we have specially in our eye, is the sixth, headed, "Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Catholic Church." These Lectures have been examined with more or less severity in various publications; and, should it be the author's intention to reply systematically to them all, we may appear to step in between him and his just quarrel, by prematurely singling this criticism for our present observations. Such, however, is not our intention. We mean not to attack its contents, as Dr. Wiseman's champions, but only to discuss it as a manifesto of the principles, and a vindication of the claims, maintained by the party that consider themselves the true upholders and representatives of the English Church. And as the method by them pursued involves necessarily a manifold charge of misrepresen-

statements of this article regarding one or two versions, he draws from them conclusions intended to be ruinous to Dr. Wiseman's character as a scholar. "The specimens which I have given are quite sufficient to fix your character for ever as a man of patient and faithful research." (p. 179.) "In the account which you have given of Brucioli's bible, there is not one particle of truth, with the exception of the date of the *editio princeps*. I am convinced you never saw the book, &c. This is not a scholar-like mode of proceeding; and, for myself, I can only say, that after this specimen of your biblical researches, I would not trust to your accuracy in any one particular, without references to the original authorities." (p. 175.) "You will, however, permit me to remark, that, after having detected your very remarkable (not to say singular and somewhat extraordinary) dealing with Brucioli's version, I do not exactly see what right you have to speak disrespectfully of Mr. H. Horne." (Here follows a quotation from Dr. Wiseman's acknowledged Lectures.) "Truly, Sir, I think you may apply your own pelulant censure of Mr. Horne to yourself with abundant propriety." (p. 180.) All these solemn and uncourteous charges want only one ingredient to make them really serious—they are totally destitute of their necessary foundation. Dr. Whittaker did not think it necessary to ascertain whether Dr. Wiseman was the author of the paper so unmercifully censured. As the Rev. Gentleman is more than 1000 miles from the scene of accusation, and may not think it worth while to confute Dr. Whittaker's voluminous letters in a separate form, we beg to declare that he was not the author of that paper, nor of any part thereof, and that he is noways answerable for its contents. Not that we mean by this removal of responsibility to admit the accuracy of the Rev. Vicar's conclusions, or of his charges against the author of the paper, whoever he may be; but we feel it a duty to oppose this disingenuous and "unscholarlike" conduct of attempting to ruin a clergyman's character for accuracy by falsely assuming what first required proof—his being the author of what is impugned. This specimen may be perhaps "sufficient to fix Dr. Whittaker's character for ever as a man of *candid* and faithful research."

tation against the author whom they review, we flatter ourselves that we may justly step somewhat aside, to vindicate his character, whenever that of our religion shall seem assailed through his side.

The fearless and uncompromising revival of High Church principles by a small body of youthful, learned, and as far as we have opportunity of knowing, amiable clergymen, in the face of much unpopular feeling, of great alienation from their brethren, and of little encouragement from their superiors, does credit to their sincerity and to their zeal. They have placed themselves in a prominent position, and in the post of honourable danger. They have endeavoured to throw outworks beyond the acknowledged precincts of their Church's walls, to protest against the encroaching lines of dissent; and they have manned them, we think, in forlorn hope, determined to keep the pressure of the attack at a greater distance. We, indeed, on our side, complain, and their more immediate adversaries—their rebels as they consider them—agree, that they have seized, for this purpose, a territory, not their own, but of our legitimate possession. They disclaim the charge, and affirm that they stand in a middle position—between "Romanism," as they choose to call it, and dissent. But, when they speak thus, it is not as a school, or a party; they boldly profess to declare the real sentiments of their church, "the Anglican," as they style it, considering it a part of the Catholic or universal Church of Christ dispersed over the world. Of this Church, "the Roman" is acknowledged to be a part, though they think it has not preserved purity of doctrine. But we must specify more in detail the principles of this school, and we trust we shall be found to do it with perfect impartiality.

First, then, "in the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture is not, on Anglican principles, the Rule of Faith."^{*} It is, however, "its only standard, test, or depository."[†] There is, consequently, "a guide, though not an infallible one, but subordinate to Scripture. English theology considers that Scripture is not an easy book, and, as so considering, believes that Almighty God has been pleased to provide a guide. The twentieth article declares that the Church 'hath authority in controversies of faith.'"[‡]

Secondly, "the English doctrine does not encourage private judgment in matters of (necessary) faith, but maintains the Church's authority."[§] In this respect the Anglican doctrine is

* British Critic, p. 388.

† P. 385.

‡ P. 377.

§ P. 378.

"as distinct from Catholicism,* as from common Protestantism. The Catholic gives to the existing *Church* the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith; the Ultra-Protestant to the *individual*; and the Anglican to *antiquity*, giving authority to the Church as being the witness and voice, or rather the very presence of antiquity among us."† The authority of the Church is, however, "subordinate to Scripture," inasmuch as she "may indeed pronounce doctrines as *true*, which are not in Scripture, so that they are not against it; but she may not declare points to be necessary to salvation, and act accordingly, unless she professes to derive them from Scripture. Her decision in such extra-scriptural matters is not secure from error; is entitled to veneration, but has not, strictly speaking, *authority*, and therefore may not rightly be *enforced*."‡ All this, nevertheless, is not to be understood of any particular Church, but gives as its results, "that the whole Church, all over the world, will never agree in teaching and enforcing what is not true."§

Furthermore, the Church of England being "an independent apostolic Church, a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ,"|| she "claims the spiritual allegiance of the people to the exclusion of *all rival claims*;" "the duty of communion with her is founded upon reasons derived from absolute religious obligation;" and hence we Catholics, "of these countries, are very justly charged with schism;"¶ while "Wesley was a heresiarch."<**

Such we believe to be an accurate summary of the doctrines maintained by the party whose organ is the *British Critic* concerning the Rule of Faith. We have woven into our account the very expressions of that journal, because it seems so excessively jealous of any mistake about its principles, and reproaches Dr. Wiseman repeatedly for drawing his ideas on the subject from authorities which its friends reject. Before, however, analyzing, as we intend, this scheme of Church authority, we must be allowed to dwell at some length upon Mr. Keble's sermon.

* Where we write 'Catholic' or its derivatives, the *Critic* has 'Romanist' and 'Romanism.' It is evident that these terms are not used in scorn; but our ears are not accustomed to hear them employed in any other way, and we trust we shall be excused if we refuse to admit them, and decline every other appellation but our own, simply 'Catholics.' By this substitution we feel we are doing an act of justice to the "British Critic" and its party. For any of our readers who found in our extracts the term 'Romanists,' and had not read the entire article, would confound its writer with that common herd of Protestant controversialists, who think there is an argument in a nickname. We use the term 'Anglican,' because it is that adopted by the critic himself, when speaking of his own Church.

† P. 384. ‡ P. 379. § P. 380. || P. 434. ¶ P. 435. ** P. 402.

Its text is 2 Tim. i. 14, "That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." Before he closes with the real subject of his discourse, the Professor endeavours to establish a parallel between the circumstances of Timothy, when addressed in these words, and the clergy of the Anglican Church in these its calamitous times. He then divides his discourse into three parts, proposing these enquiries: *first*, what is the deposit or charge committed to Timothy; *secondly*, are the English clergy at present partakers of it; *thirdly*, have they the Holy Ghost dwelling in them for a faithful discharge of duty?

After some interesting remarks upon the word used for "deposit," in the text, and the probability of its being a conventional, ecclesiastical term, Mr. Keble concludes that the committed treasure consisted of *doctrine*. (p. 17.) This interpretation he further confirms by the testimonies of the ancient fathers. "Upon the whole," he concludes, we may assume with some confidence, that the good thing left in Timothy's charge, thus absolutely to be kept at all events, was the treasure of apostolical doctrines and Church rules; the rules and doctrines which made up the character of Christ's kingdom." (p. 20.)

2. Is a similar deposit yet in the hands of Christian ministers? "Some," says Mr. Keble, "will reply to this question at once. We have the Holy Scriptures, and we know for certain that they contain all that is important in Timothy's charge." He then asks, "Can this be proved? Must it not be owned, on fair consideration, that Timothy's deposit did comprise matter independent and distinct from the truths which are directly scriptural?" p. 21. In answer, we will give the preacher's own words, when he urges the reflection that the New Testament was not written at the date of this epistle.

"The holy writings themselves intimate that the persons to whom they were addressed were in possession of a body of truth and duty totally distinct from themselves, and independent of them. Timothy, for instance, a few verses after the text, is enjoined to take measures for the transmission, not of Holy Scripture, but of things which he had heard of St. Paul among many witnesses. The Thessalonians had been exhorted to hold the traditions which they had received, whether by word or apostolic letter." (p. 22.)

Here follow other texts urged by Catholics, after which he proceeds as follows:

"If the words, the commandments, the tradition which the latest of these holy writers severally commend in these and similar passages meant only or chiefly the Scriptures before written, would there not appear a more significant mention of those Scriptures; something

nearer to the tone of our own divines, when they are delivering precepts on the rule of faith? As it is, the phraseology of the Epistles exactly concurs with what we should be led to expect, that the Church would be already in possession of the substance of saving truth, in a sufficiently systematic form, by the sole teaching of the Apostles. As long as that teaching itself, or the accurate recollection of it, remained in the world, it must have constituted a standard or measure of Christian knowledge, though it had never seemed good to the Almighty to confer on us the additional boon of the books of the New Testament."—p. 23.

The sentiments of the Fathers are then appealed to, as confirmatory of this opinion. "Do they not employ Church tradition," asks Mr. Keble, "as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it? and consequently as fixing the interpretation of disputed texts, not simply by the judgment of the Church, but by the authority of that Holy Spirit which inspires the oral teaching itself, of which such tradition is the record;?"* Again: "If we will be impartial, we cannot hide it from ourselves, that this *unwritten* word, if it can be anyhow authenticated, must necessarily demand the same reverence from us," (as the written must have done from the early Christians, when they ascertained it,) "and for exactly the same reason—*because it is his word.*"†

But here the learned professor introduces a limitation necessary to prevent a last step over the rubicon of Protestantism. When the Scriptures were thus written, they were so written as to "contain every fundamental point of doctrine;" so that now, "nothing is to be insisted on as a point of faith necessary to salvation, but what is contained in, or may be proved by, canonical Scripture."‡ This second part of the discourse then closes by reducing to three classes the objects for which apostolical tradition is a rule. 1. "The systems and arrangement of fundamental articles;" 2. "Interpretation of Scripture;" and 3. "Discipline, formularies, and rites of the Church."

This outline will leave in our readers no room for astonishment, that Mr. Keble's sermon should have been openly charged with Catholicism, or "Romanism." Now, we declare that, to a very great extent, the charge is well-grounded. Strike out a few sentences, in which he tacks his theory to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the sermon might have been preached in St. Peter's at Rome. Whether these few passages neutralize the body of the discourse, we leave it to the members of his Church to decide. How far his opinions are ours, that is, Catholic, we have a right to judge; how far they are, at the same time, those of his professed religion, let others see. But, in the mean time,

* Page 24.

† The words in *italics* throughout these quotations are so in the original.

‡ Page 30.

we will offer our remarks towards the passing of a rightful judgment.

Mr. Keble acknowledges that tradition preceded Scripture, and attested its canon. (p. 28.) The authority, too, of that tradition, was divine; it was based upon the commission given to the apostles to teach, "he that heareth you heareth me." (p. 32.) The tradition itself was God's "*unwritten word*." This authority, then, was paramount, for it had no co-ordinate: it was sole. Nay, more, it was all-sufficient; for it was the only "standard and measure of Christian knowledge." After a considerable lapse of time, according to the learned professor, "in the interval between Clement and Ignatius on the one hand, and Irenæus and Tertullian on the other; that is, after about two HUNDRED YEARS after Christ, "the canon of the New Testament had first become fixed and notorious;"* and then tradition lost its prerogatives, and Scripture became the sole standard. We ask, on what authority the assertion rests, or how is its subsistence justified? Was the divine commission or authority withdrawn from the pastors, whose teaching, till now, had been the test or standard of truth? Had it been said, "he that heareth you heareth me, till a New Testament be written, after which your delivering of a doctrine will cease to be a ground for believing?" A right clearly conferred, and not limited by, or made dependent on, contingent events, requires a clear abrogation before it ceases. Traditional, authoritative teaching, *was* clearly appointed; the substitution of Scripture *never* was; † how then can this have abrogated, or even limited the other?

But, further, Mr. Keble himself allows that "the all-sufficiency of Scripture is nowhere expressly affirmed in Scripture itself."‡ Where, then, *is* it affirmed? If in tradition, let it be shown. Let us have passages sufficient to verify the rule, *quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique*, declaratory that the Church despoiled herself, or considered herself despoiled, of that *complete* authority and *supreme* place which she had occupied in teaching truth, according to Mr. Keble's admission, previously to the decision of the scriptural canon. If no such passages, either many or few, can be quoted, as we are sure they cannot, we have nowhere any limitation made to the first authority, nor any ground at all for the all-sufficiency of the Scripture in dogmatical teaching. Let us balance the admissions of this sermon—on the one hand, that originally, tradition, or a body of doctrines held in deposit by the Church,

* P. 30.

† See note E, p. 59.

‡ P. 29.

was the appointed and sufficient standard of faith, with a divine sanction—and on the other, that Scripture never claims all-sufficiency, or declares the cessation of the previous commission to teach; and we leave it to a candid reader to judge, whether the acknowledged rights of the earlier method of preserving truth can have been superseded by the introduction of the second. But if, as Mr. Keble intimates, (p. 31,) this substitution of Scripture for tradition, as the sufficient standard of dogma, is to be gathered from tradition itself; and if this doctrine of the articles is to be considered matter of faith, or rather the foundation of all Protestant faith; then we have an instance of a point of faith “not contained in, nor proved by, canonical Scripture,” but based upon tradition alone. In a word, we have the all-important assumption of Protestantism, that Catholics err by preserving to tradition its original virtue, made to rest upon this very tradition! For, we repeat it, it is acknowledged that, in Scripture, its own all-sufficiency is nowhere expressly declared.

We affirm, that the method pursued by the reverend professor in this part of his argument, will not bear a strict investigation. In fact, it is by inuendoes, assumptions, and surmises, rather than by close reasoning, that he attempts to engraft his Church's opinions concerning Scripture, as exclusive dogmatical authority, upon his theory of “primitive tradition.” It is an ill-jointed piece of work: it is new wine in an old bottle, which can ill stand such fellowship. The following is the passage in which the task is performed; we note by *italics* the expressions to which we beg to direct attention.

“On the other hand, *it is no less evident*, that Scripture, being once ascertained, became, in its turn, a test for every thing claiming to be of apostolical tradition. But on this part of the subject *there is less occasion to dwell, it being, I suppose, allowed on all hands.* The character which our article justly assigns to the Bible, of so ‘containing all things necessary to salvation, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.’ This character the Bible could not, from the very force of the terms, acquire, until a sufficient portion of its contents had appeared, to include in one place or another, every one of such fundamentals. *Nor are we sure* of this condition having been fulfilled, until the appearance of St. John's gospel and epistle. This consideration *may serve to account* for the comparative rareness of quotations from the New Testament, in the writings of the first century.”

Here follow some proofs of this scarcity, and of the appearance of more frequent appeals to Scripture in Tertullian and St. Irenæus; after which the author continues:

*"From all this I gather, that in the interval . . . the canon of the New Testament had first been fixed and notorious, and that the fact had been observed which is stated in our article . . . that every fundamental point of doctrine is contained in the unquestioned books of that canon, taken along with the Hebrew Scriptures. And this observation being once made, would of course immediately suggest that golden rule, not of the Anglican only, but of the Catholic Church, that nothing is to be insisted on as a point of faith, &c. At any rate, it is unquestionable, that by the time of Irenæus, i. e. towards the end of the second century, the fact had been universally recognised, and the maxim thoroughly grounded and incorporated into the system of the Catholic Church."**—p. 28-31.

If the Church of England is willing that this should stand for its demonstration of its Article, on the exclusive dogmatic authority of Scripture, we heartily congratulate it on the state of its foundations. Let the argument be inculcated in church and school, let it be urged upon the laity, and recommended to the clergy; and we Catholics may fold up our arms, and patiently wait its effects. Let it be preached in every Anglican congregation, that originally, for nearly two hundred years, the very rule of faith propounded by us was the only one, the Church being the sole depositary of truth, and tradition its only standard; and that these were fully guaranteed by divine sanction: but, that *we may gather*, from the growing abundance of scriptural quotation in writers of the second century, that a certain fact (which, be it remarked, is by them nowhere recorded or alluded

* In a note on this passage (F. p. 60), the author develops this appeal to St. Irenæus. First, he quotes a passage which speaks only of two ways of studying Scripture, but applies in no way to dogmatical teaching, or the grounds of faith. He then refers to the well-known passage of St. Irenæus, given by himself in the sermon. (p. 24.) St. Irenæus asks: "What if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures?" &c.; upon which Professor Keble thus reasons: "The mere question, if we had not the Scriptures, must we not follow tradition? implies that, having the Scriptures, we have the substance of truth, necessary to salvation, and, so far, depend not at all on tradition." Perhaps it might have been so, had St. Irenæus shewn that he meant to draw this consequence, and not exactly the contrary. For he puts the question in order to prove that "it is easy to receive truth *from the Church*,"—not from Scripture; and that, even in his time, "whoever willed might receive from her the waters of life, since therein, as in a rich depository, the Apostles did most abundantly lodge all things appertaining to truth." (p. 24.) Surely this does not prove that St. Irenæus imagined the Scripture to have impaired the Church's rights as the depository of truth. It can hardly be considered fair to draw inferences from a writer's words, as though he had not himself done it; it can be still less fair to draw one exactly at variance from the one he draws. Nor, after all, could Mr. Keble's argument be, under any circumstances, correct, for St. Irenæus says nothing at all about "the substance of truth necessary to salvation;" and if his words proved the substitution of Scripture for Church authority, there is nothing to restrict them to this one object, but they would imply the complete abrogation of *all* traditional teaching, which it is not the professor's desire to admit. He had no right to introduce any such restriction, and the context gives no sanction to it. St. Irenæus is the only Father whom he quotes.

to) had been observed, to wit, that Scripture contained all the essential doctrines of religion;—further, that *such an observation being made*,—of which there is no evidence,—*would of course suggest* the golden rule of the 20th Article;—finally, that the result would be a transfer of the dogmatical deposit from divinely sanctioned tradition to Scripture, which nowhere declares itself all-sufficient,—which transfer takes place about the time of St. Irenæus, though no ecclesiastical act or declaration, no historical record, no voice of attesting witnesses, has preserved a note of such an important revolution! Grant all this—grant our rule two centuries of undisturbed, authorized possession, and then we may safely allow such a tissue of unsupported assumptions and conjectures to deprive it of its rights—if they can!

With the third division of Professor Keble's sermon we deal not, at present; nor do we know that we shall ever revert to it. Whether it is right or not in the ministers of the Anglican Church, to consider themselves gifted with the Holy Ghost, and with a grace “altogether supernatural,” (p. 43) is indeed a solemn consideration, pregnant, to them and their flocks, with awful results. If they have always believed themselves so divinely aided, we suppose they must always have taught their subjects to reverence their words, as became their high calling. But then we would ask, if the imposition of hands, which is an “outward and visible sign,” confers a grace distinct from “the preventing or assisting grace common to all Christian persons,” (p. 43) is it not a sacrament according to the definition of the Anglican Catechism? For Mr. Keble and his friends will not deny Christ's institution, upon the supposition of which their entire argument respecting Church authority rests. Yet it will not be said that their Church has ever taught Order to be a sacrament. Either their theory leads to contradiction of the doctrine usually, or rather universally, taught in their church respecting the binary number of the sacraments, or else the definition which it gives excludes Order from the number; in which case, as the outward sign certainly exists, either the inward grace or the divine institution must be wanting. Now, the absence of either is fatal to Mr. Keble's doctrine, as applied to his Church or her ministers.

It is time now for us to return to the declarations of the *British Critic*. What we have said, however, of Mr. Keble's sermon must not be considered entirely a digression. We have treated the subject of tradition somewhat at length, because the correctness or the inconsistency of the High Church party's opinions concerning it, must materially affect their theory of

Church authority. If they can establish what the reverend Professor desires, a middle view between the Bible alone, in each man's hands, and a deposit of dogmatical truth, distinct from it, yet enduring in the Church, as the real Anglican doctrine,—they will have some chance of success in proving the existence of a middle state between individual judgments and infallible definitions, and between the anarchy of sectarianism and the universal unity of Catholicism.

In looking over the theory of Church authority, set forth in the passages which, higher up, we wove together from the *British Critic*, and indeed on many other occasions are proclaimed by that journal and its friends, two things particularly strike us; *first*, the attempt which they make to palm their peculiar and unauthorised sentiments upon the Anglican Church; and *secondly*, the utter inconsistency and fallacy of the scheme of Church authority which they claim in its behalf. We will offer a few obvious remarks upon these two points.

I. A great portion of the article to which we principally call attention is taken up with an attempt to prove that Dr. Wiseman has been unjust towards the English Church, by confounding her principles respecting the Bible and the rule of faith, with those maintained by all other Protestants. He is charged with "misunderstanding its doctrine;" and the reviewer is "indeed surprised that so well-read a man should not have recollected more of the divinity of Anglican standard authors, than to assert that the fundamental principle of Protestantism, as recognised in the *English Church*, is 'that the Word of God alone is the true standard of faith!'"* This is but one passage out of many wherein the same reproach is uttered.

Before the present inquiry can be satisfactorily solved, it is necessary to have some criterion, by which the avowed principles of a religion can be known, in contradistinction to the opinions tolerated within its pale. Now we apprehend that the fairest and surest test is universality of consent or diversity of opinion in teaching, concerning it. If the symbolical documents of a Church, that is, its avowed definitions, or authorised expositions of faith, decide, or seem to decide a belief, and the great body of its pastors or teachers agree in one interpretation of that definition, and allow none other to be taught, that we hold to be the doctrine of that Church. If it allow two most different, or even contradictory sentiments to be publicly taught, the holders of neither have a right to call theirs more than opinions *in the*

* p. 384.

Church. We can illustrate this rule either from the Catholic or from the Anglican Church.

The Catholic Church holds a dogma often proclaimed, that in defining matters of faith she is infallible. No one would be allowed by her to teach any other doctrine; whoever does, ceases practically to be a Catholic; and if he be a pastor, and prove obstinate in his error, must be removed from his office. At the same time, while all agree that this infallibility resides in the unanimous suffrage of the Church, whether united in council or dispersed over the world, the Italian doctrine extends it to the plenitude of authority residing in its head, and makes his dogmatical decrees of force antecedently to the expressed consent or implied acquiescence, of the other pastors. The Gallican denies this, and maintains that time must be given for the Church to assent or dissent: and only in the former case considers the decree binding. Practically, as experience has proved, either opinion leads to the same results; but manifestly the assertors of neither can demand that their peculiar theory be received by others as the defined or acknowledged principles of the Church, neither think we that they could reasonably charge with "misunderstanding their *Church's doctrines*," such as would not so receive it. But let us take an exempla from the English Church.

Her 22nd article "at one fell swoop" pounces upon purgatory, indulgences, veneration of images and relics, and invocation of saints, and utterly condemns them all, most irremissibly. The 30th article asserts the use of the cup to be of equal importance, by divine institution, with the receiving of the other element in the Lord's Supper. The 28th, that transubstantiation is opposed to God's word. Few articles probably are subscribed with greater unanimity and heartiness, by churchmen, than these; never have we heard of a single bold spirit among them flying in the face of their letter, and presuming to deliver in church a word in favour of what these condemn. Were any one of them to preach on the existence of purgatory or the right of administering the Eucharist under the form of bread alone, we have no doubt but his diocesan would soon reprove him, and should he turn out obstinate, remove him from his situation. The contrary opinions then to these points are articles of belief of the Anglican Church, on which no difference of opinion is tolerated in any of her ministers. But take on the other hand justification, election, and predestination, and you will find them, according as they belong to the evangelical or high-church "connexion," holding and teaching the most conflicting doctrines, to neighbouring flocks, without being removed, or even chid for either set of opinions which they may have chosen to embrace. It is true that the former points

are but as "mint and cummin" compared to these "weightier things of the law;" but it is no less true that the Church of England allows a latitude of doctrine respecting them which forbids us to admit the holders of either opinion as exclusively in possession of its declared sentiments. In like manner, *supposing* that Church to have defined that it "hath authority in matters of faith," and yet to allow the public teaching of two opinions within its bosom, by its legitimate ministers, one to the extent of the *British Critic's* assertions, the other to the extent of a total denial of them; we must, even in charity as in good sense, refer this matter to those on which diversity of opinion is tolerated, and refuse to accept either as the doctrine of the Church. Each can pretend only to be a doctrine taught *within* it.

There are two ways of ascertaining this variety of opinions, upon this, as upon any other point; by the examination of its living teachers, and by the appeal to more ancient testimonies. We are willing to take either test.

And first, as to the state of opinion on this subject in the present Church, we have evidence within reach. We open once more Mr. Keble's sermon, and see the following dedication:— "To the Worshipful and Rev. W. Dealytry, D.D. Chancellor of the Diocese of Winton, and to the Reverend the Clergy of the Deaneries meeting at Winchester, this sermon is respectfully inscribed, *having been preached before them, and being now published in deference to their expressed wish, of examining at their leisure the statements therein contained.*" Surely had the learned professor preached only what the Church of England avowedly teaches, and what its clergy have received as her doctrines; had there been nothing *new*, or at least *uncommon* in the "statements" of his sermon, a body of dignified clergymen would not have expressed a wish to see them in print, that they might examine them at their leisure. Had he preached a tirade against "image worship" or such anticatholic statements as form the charges of a Burgess or a Philpotts, we hardly fancy that such leisurely examination, such a subjection of the sermon to the scrutiny of the "faithful eyes," would have been deemed necessary. *We* could not conceive such a demand to be made by the assembled clergy of one of our dioceses, if the preacher had only delivered the acknowledged doctrines of our Church.

These suspicions have been more than strengthened by the reception of the discourse itself among many members of the Church. The Rev. Arthur T. Russell, of St. John's, Cambridge, and Vicar of Caxton, hesitates not to call it "*an heterogeneous mixture of popery and protestantism;*" as inconsistent with the existence of the latter, as were the errors against which St. Paul's

Epistles to the Romans and Galatians were written, inconsistent with the profession of christianity."* This probably is an extreme opinion; and, therefore, between it and the approval of the Professor's theory as sound Anglicanism, there are innumerable degrees of reproof, harsher and milder, which the sermon has undergone. Mr. Russell, a little later, upon quoting Mr. Keble's argument in favour of tradition, "because it is God's (unwritten) word," remarks, "This is the very form in which the Romanist puts his argument for the equal authority of tradition in the scripture. True, it may be replied, but Professor Keble rejects Romanist tradition. I ask not what kind of traditions he rejects; but if *any traditions are to be revered as the unwritten word of God, the principle* is conceded to the Romanists, let the application of the principle in points of detail be what it may."† Surely it would be discreditable to the Church itself to admit that upon matters of faith, graduates of the two Universities could differ so widely in opinion; though, to speak the truth, we can hardly comprehend in any manner so vague a system of doctrine, that a Master of Arts of Oxford should uphold, as defined by a Church article, what a Bachelor of Laws of Cambridge should denounce as "inconsistent with the profession of christianity."

Be this as it may, it is clear that *the Church* does not receive the doctrines of the High-Churchmen as part of its defined code. And in fact what we alleged in our first number upon the Hampden case, and in what we quoted in our third, from Dr. Maude, Mr. Bickersteth, and others, goes towards establishing the same point. Indeed the Hampden case, we think, proved the Oxford divines to be only a minority in the Church. But wherefore any need of proof, when, to use the *Critic's* expression, we have *confitentem reum*? In p. 384, he finds it necessary to explain his denial that the Bible alone is admitted by the Anglican Church as the rule of faith. "Now let us understand here," so he writes, "we know full well that this is a popular mode of speaking at this day; we know well it is an opinion *in* our Church; but it is by no means universally received, much less a principle. And Dr. Wiseman, as a *well-read* divine, ought to recollect this." This reserve and caution of expression, for which we give that journal sincere credit, this serious protestantism that the opinion contrary to its own is *not* universal, this acknowledgment that nevertheless it is "popular," is more than sufficient to prove that its own theory is not that of the Church,

* Remarks upon the Rev. Professor Keble's Visitation Sermon, &c. Cambridge, 1837, p. 5.

† p. 7.

but one among conflicting systems permitted to live and contend, and yet nestle together in her easy bosom.

But the writer in the *British Critic*, enforces his charge against Dr. Wiseman by an appeal to existing facts. He asks if the assertions it has combated can be "truly, nay fairly," made, not "by a well-read divine, but by an intelligent observer of the English Church for the last twenty years? Is Dr. W. a stranger to the continual and violent charges brought against far the larger portion of the Church, of its making the Prayer-Book a "safeguard" to the Bible? Has not the body of the Church opposed the Bible Society on this ground?" (p. 385.) These questions regard us as much as Dr. Wiseman, and therefore we may answer them. To the first we reply that we Catholics should feel rather ashamed of any advocate who advanced no better proof that *our Church* held the doctrine of authority, than that she had a missal and a breviary, as well as a bible. Even conjointly with others, we should consider such an argument equivalent to a betrayal of the cause. But, if making a prayer-book a safeguard to the bible prove the maintenance of Church authority, it can only prove it in favour of that "larger portion" who make it such, and not of the Church, which equally owns the smaller portion (*if smaller*) who do not; nor can Dr. W. be charged with injustice for not drawing his conclusions from a part to the whole.

But to the second query we reply, that at first it startled and astonished us. Our memory we feared might be treacherous, so we turned over the pages of the Bible Society Reports to refresh it, and we found as follows: The society was established in 1805, and its first report gives us as Vice-Presidents, the Lords Bishops of London, Durham, Exeter, and St. David's, with four laymen. In 1808 the Archbishop of Cashel is added to their number. The following year is remarkable for the establishment of Auxiliary Societies, the first being under the patronage of the Bishop of Salisbury.* In 1810 the list of Vice-Presidents includes the following: Archbishop of Cashel, Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, St. David's, Bristol, Cloyne, and Clogher. The Bishop of Bristol placed himself at the head of a branch society, and recommended the institute by a circular letter to his clergy. Moreover, the Committee record, with great pleasure, a donation of fifty guineas, unanimously voted by the same Bishop, the Master, and the Seniors of Trinity College, Cambridge.† In 1813, we find among the Vice-Presidents, one Archbishop, ten Bishops, English and Irish, and the Dean of Westminster. In

* Report for 1809, p. 220.

† Sixth Report, pp. 296, 306.

1816, the number of Bishops had increased to twelve, with two Deans. All this showed the steady increase of patronage from the high places of the Church. But perhaps the opposition from the body of the Church began later. Passing over, at once, to the latest report within our reach, that of 1835, we find still enumerated at the head of the Vice-Presidents, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, Norwich, Lichfield, Chester, Kildare, Sodor and Man, Calcutta and Madras, and the Deans of Bristol and Salisbury. And glancing over the names of subscribers, we find that of the most Rev. Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, upon collating the reports for half the duration of this society, we have ascertained that *fourteen* dioceses of England and Wales have been represented by their Bishops; and *two* others by their Deans, in the council of Vice-Presidents, who receive an annual vote of thanks for their *patronage*. If, then, Churchmen are to decide the maintenance or the rejection of the principle of authority, by the countenance or opposition showed by their superiors to the Bible Society, to what conclusion must they come? This generation must conclude, that in almost every part of England, they have been practically encouraged and exhorted by the representatives of their Church to support the Society, whose avowed object is "the circulation of Scripture without note or comment." And yet the claim to authority is to be deduced from exactly the contrary supposition!

After these two bold attacks in form of questions, the *Critic* makes "a thrust in tierce," which we think we can as easily parry before it reach Dr. Wiseman's side. It is as follows: "Nay, to go higher, do we not read in our service, the Athanasian creed, which, whether it allows private judgment or not, clearly propounds that *unless private judgment terminate in the reception of certain most definite statements of doctrine, it incurs the Church's direct and absolute anathema?* Considering the assaults conducted by individuals on this creed; considering the continued struggle against what is sometimes called the High-Church party, for a series of years past, *on the ground of its enforcing one certain interpretation of the Word of God*, under what impression, or in what state of mind, does Dr. Wiseman take for granted that the English Church consigns the Bible to each individual, and bids him draw his faith thence?"*

The plain meaning of which is—"display as much erudition as you please upon texts of Scripture; but recollect that you have a certain dogma to maintain, and that your erudition must

* British Critic, p. 385.

finally, by some means or other, appear to establish it. Now, I would ask any one who feels the importance of religious truth, what kind of confidence can be placed in those who, on such principles, engage in the interpretation of the Word of God?" Reader, this commentary is not ours, it is from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Turton, Regius Professor of Theology at Cambridge, and is intended as a severe rebuke upon an assertion of the same Dr. Wiseman, that the biblical researches of the Catholic must give results conformable to the definitions of the Church.* This he seems to consider as a monstrous ultra-popish idea; his commentary on which he reserved for his *bonne-bouche*, at the end of his book, as likely to startle good Protestants. Now, therefore, stripping his remarks of that personality with which the learned Doctor so abounds, we beg to place them as a target before Dr. Wiseman's breast. We cannot suppose that Oxford will reason with him on a principle as its own, which Cambridge denounces in him, as erroneous. Nay, he never went so far as to speak about "incurring the Church's direct and absolute anathemas."

We may, perhaps, be reproached by our readers, for extending this argument to such a length; if so, they must kindly bear with us a few moments more, while we discuss the appeal made from living witnesses to the illustrious dead. The *British Critic* indeed discards the Hornes, the Tottenhams, and others; but it refers the question of Church authority to the Bulls, the Beveridges, the Lauds, the Jewels, and a few other ancient divines. They, at least, prove, by their testimony, that the Church maintains its claim to dogmatical authority. It takes the trouble of making considerable extracts from their works.

We do not deny that on many occasions they seem to speak a language eminently Catholic; but we say no less, that they stood in their generation as the Oxford knot do at present, as men of one way of thinking, amidst as many or more, who maintained a different or even contradictory opinion. Laud was considered by many in the Church as little better than "a papist," and was suspected, whether truly we do not pretend to say, of hankering after the institutions, and dallying with the proffered dignities, of the Roman Church. Certain it is, that upon the Episcopal bench of his time were found some to treat with the papal agents about a reconciliation with the Holy See.† Many other Anglican divines, the fear of the "Geneva discipline," and Presbyterian or Socinian opinions, drove to take shelter in tradition, and to

* "The Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist considered." Cambridge, 1837, p. 337.

† As Bishop Montague.

claim rights for their Church, upon the authority of antiquity. At any rate, before we can admit these writers to be urged against us, as representatives of the true Anglican doctrine, we must be satisfied that the body of that Church considers them such. Of this we have as yet no proof. Furthermore, before we can allow that their opinions were the same as those held by the *Critic*, we must have some clearer evidence than its extracts. For we find Mr. Keble's antagonist stoutly asserting, and by quotations endeavouring to establish, that the Rev. Professor's doctrine is opposed to the sentiments of these very divines. For this purpose, he cites Jewel, Archbishop Sandys, Dr. Willet, Whitaker, Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, Prideaux, Taylor, Allestree, and others.

Let Anglicans themselves clear up these points, and decide—first, *who* are their acknowledged theological authorities, and then *what* these teach, and we may allow them to charge us with unfairness for not drawing our statements exclusively from them. The *British Critic* is, indeed, hard to please upon these matters. If Dr. Wiseman quotes Baxter, who has received the commendations of Barrow, Wilkins, and other Anglican divines, or Jones, whom Dr. Maltby has praised,* it is an insult to Beveridge to place him in such company. (p. 392.) If Dr. Beveridge himself is cited, it happens to be a work written by him when a young man, and not published by himself. (p. 390.) As to the latter circumstance, people very seldom *do* publish their own "Private Thoughts," but rather leave them to be given after their deaths; and as to the first, we might allow the plea in matters of research or thought, but scarcely in treating of an acquaintance with the principle of faith held in one's own Church. Certes, St. Thomas Aquinas was not much, if at all, older, when he composed many of his treatises; nor do we think that either Catholic or Protestant looks to the chronology of his works, when he quotes him as a testimony of what his Church teaches and taught. And surely, that cannot be very clearly the principle of faith of the Anglican Church, which Beveridge, about to take orders, did not know to be such, and only discovered by matured studies.

We have various other remarks connected with this topic, which we must pass over at present. In concluding this subject, we will observe, that perhaps the Reviewer may have some small right to complain of Dr. Wiseman, for not having made, in his Lectures, an exception in favour of the party to which he and

* The Clarendon press, at which Jones's work was printed, is under the direction of persons appointed by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

his friends belong. But to blame him, for not separating *the Church of England* from other Protestants, in his arguments on the Rule of Faith, is manifestly unreasonable. Let that church, as a *Church*, detach itself from all other sectaries in its reasoning against us, let it avow disapprobation of their principles, let it be as unanimous in its doctrines concerning tradition and Church authority—we will not say as we are, but as it is itself on the rejection of Transubstantiation, and then we will acknowledge its right to record a separate plea from the great body of Protestants, when the Catholic arraigns them together for a breach of religious unity.

Further, we will observe, that it is hard to make such a charge of injustice at this time of day. From Baily's* to Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," from Jewel's "Apology" to Burgess's "Charges," we meet no traces of this distinction between Anglican and Ultra-Protestant. The line of demarcation is clear and bold; "the Bible alone" on one side, "church authority" on the other, defines the challenge of the combatants; the Protestant never haggles about the terms, the Catholic never flinches from his ground. "With this sword" (Scripture) says Jewel, "did Christ put off the devil, when he was tempted of him; with these weapons ought all presumption which doth advance itself against God to be overthrown and conquered. 'For all scripture,' saith St. Paul, 'that cometh by the inspiration of God, is profitable,' &c. Thus did the Holy Fathers always fight against the heretics, with none other force than with the holy scriptures."† Harding understands these words in the usual "popular" sense of the rejection of all *authority* but Scripture, and refutes them accordingly. Nor, if we remember right, does Jewel complain of misrepresentation. If he appeals to the Fathers, it is more as a question of fact than of right; he wishes to show that they are with Protestants and not with Catholics; but he does not allow them as judges or umpires between the two.

But, after all, religion is a practical, and not merely a speculative, institution; and we think that the doctrines of a Church may best be learned from what its pastors generally teach, and its followers generally believe. And on this view, we are satis-

* "An End to Controversy." Doway, 1654.

† On the contrary, Professor Keble writes as follows:—"As often as Tertullian and Irenæus have false teachers to reprove, or unevangelical corruptions to expose, do they not refer to the traditions of the whole Church, as to something independent of the written word, and sufficient, at that time, to confute heresy, even alone? Do they not employ Church tradition as parallel to Scripture, not as derived from it?"—Sermon, p. 23.

fied, that the Church of England, as it exists at present, must be enumerated under the general head of Protestantism, and cannot be placed in a distinct class. But its article, which declares that "the Church hath authority in matters of faith." To it we oppose, *first*, the doubtfulness of its authenticity, or rather the strong probability of its spuriousness, whereof *we* are nearly convinced. *Secondly*, the latitude of interpretation which we have already seen permitted in the Church, and which allows the Ultra-Protestant principle of private judgment to be publicly taught by its authorised ministers. *Thirdly*, the difficulties of the system to which it leads, as explained by the *British Critic*—difficulties which will not allow dogmatical authority to be the principle of the Anglican Church.

II. This last objection forms, if our readers remember, the second head of our general animadversions upon the system presented by the periodical organ of the High Church party. Our first exception to it arises from its evident obscurity, in the mind of its expositor himself. Take the two following passages:

"Will he (Dr. W.) reply, that the Roman church does *not* grant that it can decree things *contrary* to scripture? True, but it claims to decree points of faith *beyond* scripture. And this is the authority which we deny it." p. 378.

* * * * *

"We consider that her (the Church's) decision in such extra-scriptural matters is not secure from error; is entitled, indeed, to veneration, but has not, strictly speaking, *authority*, and therefore may not rightly be *enforced*. This distinction is made at the end of the twentieth Article:—'As it (the Church) ought not to *decree* anything against the same, so *besides* the same ought it not to *enforce* anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.' The Church must not enforce beyond scripture; *it may decree*, i.e. *pronounce beyond it, but not against it.*" p. 379.

And yet in the same breath we have been told, that this is the very authority which is denied to the Catholic Church. The writer would, perhaps, reply, that it is the *authority* which is denied to us, and is not claimed by the Anglican Church. But, to a simple, unsophisticated reader, such a distinction will hardly occur; and we confess that we read over the paragraph repeatedly, with the conviction, that its termination flatly contradicted its beginning. And even now it leaves upon our mind the conviction, that the writer has not very clear notions of what he should deny to the Catholic Church, and what he should claim for his own.

Nor is this perplexity imaginary. The Church may *decree*, but it may not *enforce*. What, if its decrees be disregarded?

What, if men, as did the Presbyterians under Elizabeth and James, overlooking the distinction, pronounce that to be contrary to Scripture which the Church decrees as only beyond it? Must it stop short? Is it powerless in *enforcing* the observance of its injunctions? If so, then is that reasoning not unjust, of which the *Critic* so loudly complains, that "each one has to judge for himself, whether the Church be contradicting the express doctrines of scripture; and that, consequently, each person is thus constituted judge over the decisions of his Church."* Has the Church the right of enforcing upon the individuals? Then is the *Critic's* distinction futile and vain.

In fact, the idea of a church, or any other governing authority, possessed of a power to *decree* more extensive than its power to *enforce*, is self-repugnant. It may *recommend* or exhort to an extent beyond its authority to put in execution; but it must not talk of enacting or *decreeing*.

This obscurity of the system may be further evinced from the heaviness of the commentary which overclouds the simplicity of the text. The article, if genuine, simply says, that "the church hath authority in controversies of faith." This is vague enough, heaven knows; and gives little scope for practical inferences, but abundant for theories. Professor Keble engrafts upon it all his doctrine of tradition, and the threefold order of truths to be derived from it, and the necessity of studying diligently the writings of the Fathers. The *British Critic* builds upon it a more massive theory of the Anglican Church's referring "the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith to antiquity, giving authority to the Church, as being the witness and voice, or rather the very presence of antiquity amongst us." (p. 384.) This "limitation," or rather amplification, of the article, is to be drawn from one of the Canons of Convocation. (p. 379.) Be it so; but the Canon would have done well to tell us, when, where, and by whom, this appeal to antiquity, or rather this summons of attention, to its yet speaking voice is to be made: the *Critic* might have shown us how the Church makes it at the present day, in order to the confutation and overthrow of those rampant errors which have long torn her in pieces.

For this we think a still weightier objection to the system, that it is theory, and nothing but theory. It has no life, no vigour, no active existence. We may weary our readers by insisting so often upon this idea; but it is one never to be lost sight of, in controversy with this party. The Church which they

* Dr. Wiseman's Lectures, p. 30.

describe, and which they idolize, is imaginary, and exists only upon paper. Perhaps in its beginning it may have exhibited its vital powers, by stoutly combating, and, with the aid of the secular arm, repressing, the innovations of seceders from its pale; but long has it given proof that such a vigour was external and adventitious, depending upon the interest which the state felt in its exercise of influence. Since it has been left to itself, although within it and around it, through dissent and dissension, its articles have been impugned, its discipline decried, its usefulness disputed, its ministrations contemned; no voice of authority has been raised within it, no outstretching of its arm has been witnessed; never once has it assumed that attribute of dignity, that imposing mien of command, which the imagined depositary of an apostolic teaching, and an establishment of heaven-guided ministers, might be supposed entitled to assume.

Has it been so with the Catholic Church? Was Jansenism, not half so perilous or so pernicious as Arianism, allowed by wily arts, to seduce the faithful, while no one spoke? On the contrary, although but little more than a century before, the Church had lost a large portion of her dominion, through the unhappy Reformation, and she seemed ill able to afford another defection, she did not hesitate to trace out the hidden error, and cut away, with steady hand, the cancer which had stretched its subtle roots through a part of her otherwise healthy frame. It was an operation, indeed, more painful and more difficult, than the previous cutting off of a useless and diseased limb; but she shrank not from the performance of her stern duty. Though the sectaries were anxious not to break communion with the Universal Church, though they successively retreated from plea to plea, the Holy See, supported by the Bishops of the Catholic world, tore off every disguise under which they sought to lurk, and overthrew every pretence for resistance, till the evil was removed, and without loss to the Church clean destroyed. When attempts were made by Ricci and the Pistojans, to revive in Italy what had been foiled in France, Pius VI, by his noble constitution *Auctorem Fidei*, vindicated the dignity of the Apostolic See, and united the suffrages of the whole Church in their condemnation. And that condemnation was the destruction of the dangerous novelty.

Such are, indeed, practical and vigorous proofs, not merely of a system of authoritative teaching in the Church, but of its healthy action. And such was the method pursued in that antiquity, which we are told yet raises its voice in the Anglican Church. For it was not then deemed sufficient to frame a symbol or code of articles, and then leave it to its fate, and pursue the

detection and repression of error no further; but every new heresy was met by a new remedy, every poisonous invention led to the publication of a new antidote; and singly was each starting error beaten down, and in general effectually. Nay, the symbols of the Church were never mere "articles for the avoiding of diversities of opinion;" they were not acts for settling the basis of belief and government, but they were occasional exercises of authority called forth by the rise of new and unheard of opinions. Even in the case of national churches, the same in a subordinate degree, was their practice. The Donatists of Africa were energetically attacked and condemned, in the first instance, by the authoritative decisions of the Church in that country. If then Anglicanism holds the same principles, why does it not, as well as Catholicism, continue to act upon the same system? God knows that it cannot have been from want of opportunity or necessity. Authority is an active instrument; it requires exercise for its maintenance; it is as a bow, which, if for ages left unstrung, will snap whenever the attempt be made again to bend it. If the English Church have all along believed herself possessed of so rich a deposit as this apostolic power to teach, how will she answer for having folded it up in a napkin, and buried it so long in the earth? If not, whence has a new light burst upon her now, or upon some of her divines, and convinced them she has always possessed the treasure?

How comes it, too, that never in her articles is allusion made to the manner of exercising this authority, or to the places or circumstances under which the exercise should be made? We should rejoice, indeed, by way of experiment, to see such a trial made as the *Critic* somewhere proposes, of an Anglican national synod. We should like to see the Church condemn Calvinistic and Semi-Arian principles, and deprive all ministers who teach them; endeavour to introduce the practices commended in the Oxford "Tracts for the Times," order such a reformation as would restore the cathedral service to its original forms, binding the wealthy canons to residence, and cutting down pluralities; then openly denounce, with the *Critic*, Wesley as "a heresiarch," and consequently his followers as heretics, and boldly pronounce that anathema of the Church, which the Review now mutters against such as believe and profess not, in accordance with the Athanasian Creed. Let all this, we say, be done by a national Council of the Anglican Church; and let its decrees be based upon "primitive tradition, as well as scripture, and her authority claimed as a rightful inheritance ever held by her since apostolic times;" and then we shall indeed see, whether her own children will justify her wisdom, or whether the attempted blow will not

be rather considered as the "telum imbelli sine ictu,"* of one who sinks in venerable dotage at the foot of his vanquished domestic altar.

But the practical inutility of this speculative system of authority is far from ending here. Whoever claims a right to control others, whether in judgment or in action, must offer at least some advantage in return. The Protestant has an obvious right to ask the ministers of the Anglican Church, "If I surrender my opinions and reasonings into your hands; if I abandon my conventicle, and embrace your formularies of worship, what certainty have I gained that I am securer of the truth than I was before?" Now the answer, if honest and explicit, should, according to the principles of the *British Critic*, be as follows:—"The Anglican Church is a part of the true Church; it is a national independent branch thereof. She pretends not, however, even collectively, to immunity from error. For it is one of her articles, that 'as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred,' and as 'also the Church of Rome hath erred . . . in matters of faith,'† so the Anglican, which pretends to no more infallibility than she allows to them, may err no less in matters of faith. But then this immense advantage will result from your joining the national Church, that though it, as a particular Church, may fail and teach what is erroneous in faith, yet "*the whole Church all over the world* will never agree in teaching and enforcing what is not true."‡

Now, we ask any unprejudiced mind, whether this is not like toying with men's consciences and good sense at once? In fact, we have not gone far enough in the concessions of this imaginary, but consistent, answer. For, some Anglican divines hold the Church to be of a revolutionary character—not in the political, but in the scientific, sense of the word—moveable, like the Jewish tabernacle, from one place to another; and England is allowed by them to have had her turn, and to be probably on the point of losing it. Thus writes Dr. Daubeny, though we cannot be sure that he is on the *Critic's* list of the orthodox, and whether we may not be charged, as Dr. Wiseman has been, with unfairness in presuming to quote him, as an authority in the Church, whose champion he stands forth.§ "Though this

* *Aeneid* II. 544.

† Art. xix.

‡ *British Critic*, p. 380.

§ Dr. Daubeny indeed stands up boldly against the sin of schism in all who separate themselves from the law-established Church. But we find, that in his concluding discourse, he is anxious, that each one should be guided to it by their use of his individual judgment exercised upon the Bible, which he puts into his reader's hands, that like the Bereans they may search and examine. He is anxious not "to lead them blindfold; on the contrary, he is desirous that they should see for themselves,

Church, from the days of its first settlement, hath been passing from country to country, as the inhabitants of each became respectively unworthy of its longer continuance among them; yet for our comfort we are assured that the gates of hell shall not completely prevail against it. In one part of the world or another, they will be found to the end of time. How long it may be in the counsel of God to continue it in this country he only knows. But the present divided state of Christians, so much lamented by all sound members of the Church, together with that too general indifference for all religious opinions, which, under the fallacious term of *liberality of sentiment*, now prevails, holds out to us no very promising prospect."* Therefore, not only *may* the Anglican Church fail, but it is highly probable that it *will*. But what matters it to the individual, that the Church all over the world will not concur in teaching error, so long as in this circumstance he has no pledge that the particular branch of it, which he is called upon to join, is secure from failure? Or what claim can the latter establish, by the proof of this universal security, to a particular confidence? Could men be compelled as a solemn duty to carry their disputes before any given court of judicature, upon the ground that all the courts throughout the world could not concur in an unjust decision? It is *personal* security, his *own* safety that each one is bound to seek, in matters of faith; and to *exact* submission and obedience in judgment and deed, as a duty strictly binding, where that equivalent professedly is not given, is not only tyrannical but contradictory.

The only way in which this duty of adhesion to an insecure Church, on the ground that the body, whereof it is a corruptible member, is itself incorruptible, can be justified, appears to be this: That the universal Church of Christ, being indefectible, every particular Church which *actually* forms a part of it must be considered safe; and thus the communion with the fallible becomes a participation in the universal security of the infallible. Such, we suppose to be the reasoning of the Reviewer, when he insists upon the Anglican Church being a branch of the Catholic or universal Church. But where is the proof that the Church of England is in communion with other Churches in the world, excepting its own colonies, and perhaps the Episcopalians of North America? It has no more to say to the Greek, or

and see clearly." (*Guide to the Church*, 1804, vol. i. p. 222.) This proves how little Anglican divines are any more aware than Dr. Wiseman, that their Church rejects the exercise of individual private judgment upon the Bible as the guide in matters of faith:

* *Ibid.* p. 159.

Armenian, or Syriac Churches, than it has to the French or Italian. There is neither common belief nor common discipline to cement it into unity with them. There is no acknowledgment of communion, there is no interchange of friendly offices, there is no intercourse of epistolary communication. There is no sympathy in distress, no common joy in prosperity, no acquaintance with one another's state and feelings. Take, if it please you, Dr. Isaac Barrow's Utopian "Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church," and apply his enumeration of the duties of this unity, and see if from them it can possibly result that the Anglican Church is in possession of a single link connecting it with the rest of Christ's Church. "If any where any heresy or bad doctrine should arise, all Christians should be ready to declare against it.....especially the *pastors of the Churches* are obliged with one consent to oppose it.....Thus did the bishops of several Churches meet to suppress the heresy of Pope (*Paul?*) Samosatenus. This was the ground of most synods."* When has the Anglican Church joined any such confederacy with any other Churches, for the suppression of error or infidelity?

"If any dissension or faction doth arise in any Church, *other Churches*, upon notice thereof, should yield their aid to quench and suppress it." Is there any Church that would, under such circumstances, ask for aid from the Anglican, or accept its proffered assistance?

"All Christians should be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of piety and charity; in prayer, in *communion of the Eucharist*, &c. St. Polycarp being at Rome, did communicate with Pope Anicetus."† Where is the *Episcopal* Church which would admit an English Protestant bishop to officiate at the altar, or to participate in its Eucharist, knowing him to reject as fond and superstitious so much of its belief and practice?

"If dissension arise between divers Churches, another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the Church of Carthage, between that of Rome and Alexandria. If any bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his office, to the common danger of truth and piety, his neighbour bishops might admonish him thereto; and if he should not reform, might deprive him of communion." Does the Anglican Church admit in "any neighbour bishops" this right of interference, or does she pretend to it herself, or has she ever thought of using it? Would she expose herself to the certain rebuff she would receive, upon endeavouring to interpose as a mediatrix, between any two foreign churches?

* Barrow's Works, Tillotson's ed. vol. i. p. 766.

† P. 767.

"In cases of doubt or difficulty one Church should have recourse to others for advice, and any Church should yield it." Is there any example, or any chance, of such confidence existing between the Anglican or any other Church?

Such are pretty nearly his proofs of unity between different establishments supposed to form collectively "the Catholic Church;*" and, therefore, did we call Dr. Barrow's treatise Utopian, because believing, as we suppose, his Church to be one of such establishments, he gravely proposes tests of her pretensions which can only exist in imagination, and must show her to have no pretensions to a real place in this universal community. The Dissenter, then,—for we must be allowed to smile when the *Critic* or Dr. Barrow has the simplicity to call *us* schismatics,—the dissenter is solemnly urged, under grievous peril of his soul, to join the Anglican Church, not because she is safe from error, but because the entire Church is, of which she forms a part. And if he call for proofs that she *is* a part of the Universal Church, characteristics are proposed to him, as criterions of her claim, not one of which exists in her; or rather the absence of which proves that she is *not* in communion with this Universal Church wherever it is to be found. The unsuccessful tampering of old with the Greek Church, through Cyril Lucaris, will prove, to the scholar, that our commentary upon Dr. Barrow's text has good foundation.

But if a Dissenter, thus staggered, not to say shocked, at the boldness of the system which asked so much, and gave him in return so little, were desirous to look about him elsewhere for something of what is here described, he would not be long in discovering a Church, composed of many national Churches, possessed individually of rights and liberties, and forming complete governing communities; but so cemented together in steadfast unity of faith and discipline, as to verify what Dr. Barrow has written of religious unity. In our Church, he would find in practice and in truth, what, spoken of the Anglican Church by one of her own divines, must sound as a cruel jest. The Churches of France and Ireland, of Italy and South America, of Germany and Syria, of Spain and Poland, of Belgium and Cochin China, are in full enjoyment of almost every characteristic† of religious

* Be it remembered, that the *Critic* approves of Dr. Barrow's conclusion drawn from this very treatise, that Catholics are to be considered as schismatics.—p. 434.

† We, of course, except such acts of high jurisdiction as *no* Church now-a-days could pretend to in respect of another, such as the deposition of bishops in another country, &c. Such extraordinary power is only vested in the Sovereign Pontiff. But would the Anglican, under any circumstance, allow the American bishops to interfere in England to such an extent?

unity which we have transcribed; the subjects of any one could communicate, the clergy could celebrate at the altar of any other among them. The pastors could meet as brethren, and sit at one council-board; they do consult one another in cases of difficulty; they assist and receive one another in distress, and sympathise with their respective sufferings.* But the sects or Churches that are not within this pale—and the Anglican is one—have and can have no participation in these advantages of communion with them, nor do they affect any among themselves. The Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Synod of Moscow, would be greatly astonished if the Convocation consulted them about the thirty-nine articles, or if his Grace of Canterbury travelling in their parts, should ask to read the communion service in one of their Churches.

But we are not sure that we should make the insecurity of such as obey the Church of England's summons to join her end here. For even this imaginary connexion, which she cannot prove, with the Universal Church, ought, according to her principles, to be no guaranty. In her twenty-first article, she says, that "general councils," that is, assemblies of the bishops of the *whole* Church, "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men whereof all be not governed by the Spirit and Word of God, *may err*, and sometimes *have erred*, even in things appertaining unto God." The Critic, indeed, says, that this article speaks only "historically of professed and pretended general councils." But, with due deference, we beg to dissent from this interpretation. For though the clause, "and *have erred*," may be only historically added, yet the definition that "they *may err*" is an enunciation of a belief or general principle, inasmuch as it is based upon the circumstance, that all the individuals composing a general council are not guided by the word and spirit of God. Now, as this will apply to every possible general council, as well as to any actual one since that of Jerusalem, we must conclude that the Church of England does not attribute security from error, even to the entire Church of Christ in council assembled. How

* A beautiful example of this truly Catholic feeling has lately taken place. Some of the New States of South America had, during their contest with another country, banished all Spaniards from their territories, not excepting clergymen. Since they have been freed from all alarm, they have zealously set about restoring their religious establishments, and particularly the regular orders. For this purpose, agents, with large sums at their disposal, have been sent to Italy, to procure members of these orders to cross the Atlantic. They have been instructed to give preference to Spaniards who have been ejected from their religious houses by the present Spanish Government. And whenever any of them have sought an asylum in the new States, they have been received with marked kindness and hospitality. Thus has the Catholic spirit triumphed over obstinate national prejudices.

much less then] can union with her be an imperative duty, on the ground that thereby the individual is secure through union with the Universal Church?

There is another inconsistency in this new scheme of Church authority. The Church in general is allowed to be indefectible, upon the strength of that text, in which our Saviour promises to be with his apostles to the end of the world (p. 395), and other similar passages. When he says, "He that heareth you, heareth me ; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me ;" the consequence is, that the Church to which these words are addressed is at all times to be listened to, as the living voice of Christ; and thus it is indefectible. But, upon these very texts, the High Church party claim authority for the particular pastors of their Church, as legitimate successors of the Apostles. But how shall these texts, addressed to one only body, be it what it may, confer two perfectly dissimilar things, on two distinct classes of persons ; to wit, indefectibility to the collective, universal Church, and authority to each component part thereof? If the Anglican hierarchy lay claim to one of the gifts, they have as much right to the other. But this is not our present question. We ask on what ground are these texts thus made to cut two ways, to answer two different purposes, without any warranty for the distinction in the texts themselves? Whatever Church is declared to be indefectible, is invested with authority, and none other ; and as the Anglican Church does not pretend to the one quality, it can have no claim to the other. If the indefectibility which is the consequence of Christ's teaching through the pastors, be not distributable among particular Churches, how is it proved that authority in faith, which is that very teaching, is so distributable? But if the two reside united in the same body, as in consistency they ought, then we say the result is INFALLIBILITY. For indefectibility secures the existence of *objective* truth in the Church at all times; and authority to teach, in conjunction, secures *subjective* truth. In other words, the latter obliges each individual to believe whatever it teaches, while the former assures him that it can never fall into error.

In fact, infallibility is the active manifestation of indefectibility through authority. Where the fund of wisdom and truth is imperishable and incorruptible, its outward communication must be so too. If the Church is to be heard because Christ teaches in it, the Church is *infallible*,—even as Christ is. All this is in exact harmony with Catholic truth. In this there is no disjunction of what God hath ordained; no drawing of authority for individual churches, and of indefectibility for the Universal Church from one indivisible text. Both, indeed, are proved;

but both in favour of one—of the Catholic Universal Church: and with these the natural result of the two conjoined—*dogmatical infallibility*. In their pastors, the flock recognise the connecting link between them and this great community; they are ruled and taught by them in strict harmonious unity with the entire Church.

But the Anglican Church can show, as we have already observed, no connexion with any other Church to prove that it forms a part of any larger religious communion. Either she alone is the Universal Catholic Church, or she is out of its pale. If the first, she should claim indefectibility; if the second, she must renounce authority.

By way of conclusion, let us transfer the inquiry to another country. We were at first inclined to choose Ireland or Italy; but particular exceptions might be taken against both these points of comparison, therefore, we will place the controversy in France. The French Church has a hierarchy, less interrupted in apostolic succession than the Anglican can possibly pretend to be. The Bishops of Gaul may be traced to the second century, or even to the immediate disciples of the apostles; whereas the Anglicans do not pretend to trace their succession further back than the Roman mission under St. Gregory the Great. The succession too in France has no awkward passage to explain in its history, such as the turning out of all the bishops by civil persecution, and tacking to the succession a new set, who pretended to inherit the sees, while they rejected the religion of those before them. But putting aside all these odious comparisons, we will only assume, that the Church of France has as good a right at least to claim apostolic succession with all its rights of authority and obedience as the Church of England. We ask, therefore, are not the French Protestants chargeable with schism, since they “separate themselves from the Church, and make congregations contrary to their canonical bishops?” (p. 435.) Are they not “bound,” as much as, according to the critic, the English Catholics are,* “to unite themselves to the French Church?” (p. 434.)

It will not be said that the French Church does not maintain its independence as a national Church, or that by its submission to the Supremacy of the Holy See, she has forfeited her rights over all separatists within her dominions. For Barrow expressly says: “Yet those Churches, which by voluntary consent or

* The *Critic*, p. 434, applies to the Irish and English Catholics what Barrow says only of the English. The question of the Irish Catholics is more intimately connected with that of the Anglican Episcopacy, and therefore must not be lightly touched on here.

command of princes, do adhere in confederation to the Roman Church, we are not, merely upon that score, to condemn or reject from the communion of charity or peace, for in that they do but use their liberty."* Now the French Church is not bound certainly by any compulsion to the Roman See; and, therefore, the French Protestants cannot refuse it obedience on this score. But then, perhaps, the French Church "maintains impious errors," or "prescribes naughty practices,"—which the learned doctor adds as a sufficient reason for treating a Church as "heretical or schismatical." And who is to pronounce this judgment for the French Protestant? He himself individually? Then we have private judgment set up against and above the decision of the national Church; and thus is the Dissenter's plea made good against the Anglican Church. The body of Christians to which he is attached? Then must similar bodies in England have the same right; and Catholics cannot be schismatics who use this right, and proclaim the Anglican Church to teach "impious errors," and therefore to be itself "heretical and schismatical." Some foreign Church, as the Anglican? Then may the English Catholic be equally guided by the decisions of her more numerous foreign churches. And, moreover, according to the theory of independent national churches, each has a right to command full obedience from its own immediate subjects free from foreign control. But, says the *Critic*, "The Romish Church *generally* is regarded as schismatical in exacting as terms of communion and articles of faith, doctrines which are of uncertain authority (p. 435). By whom is it so generally regarded? *By the Anglican Church!* And is this then an infallible Church, which has a right to set up its decision against the combined decisions of so many other certainly *no less* apostolic churches which concur in not considering those articles as of uncertain authority, and in condemning the Anglican as heretical? Or are Protestants in Catholic countries bound to recognise in her an authority to rule their belief against the decisions of the hierarchy in them, while the Catholics or Dissenters in England have no similar resource in any other country? If so, the Anglican Church comes within the gripe of Barrow's conclusion,—that if churches be "turbulent and violent, trying by all means *to subdue and enslave other churches* to their will or their dictates; in such cases we may reject such churches as heretical and schismatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjust in their proceedings."

One of two things. Either it must be left to the individual

* Ubi supra, p. 783.

to decide whether a church proposes or not "doctrines of uncertain authority," and then his private reason is constituted superior to the Church, and a judge over her decision; or else the decision of any foreign Episcopal Church has as much right to controul the individual judgment of each person, and then Protestants in Catholic countries are acknowledged to be heretics. In the first supposition, Dissenters are not heretics nor schismatics with regard to the Established Church; in the second, the French Protestants are bound to subscribe to their belief in Purgatory and Transubstantiation, which the Anglican Articles condemn. In either, the writer in the *Critic* has, we imagine, a hard alternative. To use his own words, "we differ from him in logic, as much as in divinity." (p. 397.)

Let us place the question under another aspect. These High Church divines say, that their Church draws its explanations of Scripture from antiquity, of which it is the witness and depositary. It builds therefore upon this testimony its belief in the Eucharist, and its interpretation of the words employed by our Lord in its institution. But the Catholic Church, that is, the union of many other Churches appeals to precisely the same authority and test for its interpretation and belief. This is not a question of first principle, as whether any thing is to be enforced or not which is not clearly proved from Scripture: it is a matter of application of a rule equally admitted. The Zwinglian maintains the Eucharist to be a naked symbol, a merely commemorative rite. The Catholic and the Anglican contradict him; the former says that tradition has ever taught in his Church, a real and corporeal presence of Christ in that sacrament; the Anglican that his Church has learned from the same source to believe in a *real* but not a *corporal* presence. Who is to decide between the two? Is it the duty of the individual to unravel the mystery for himself, and trace out the testimony of tradition through the first ages? Then private judgment again comes in, and again is exalted as the umpire between conflicting Churches! Shall the Anglican Church have the preference? But she renounces all claim to infallibility. And what other plea can she urge which shall not assume her being the only true Church, and her principle of faith being the only correct one,—which is the very matter of inquiry?

The fact is, that there is no middle point between private judgment and the infallible authority of a living Church, which being universal, can command particular Churches as well as individuals. We would willingly exclude the name of Mr. Blanco White from our pages, but he seems to us at this moment to be a "sign," though not a "wonder,"—a monumental

record of this principle, practically illustrated in his double apostacy. He seems to us to have satisfactorily demonstrated, that on the march from Catholicity to Socinianism, and the unlimited use of private judgment, the Church of England presents no resting place. It may indeed be passed through on the road, and its curious imitations of the place just left may detain the wanderer's and outcast's attention for a brief space, as it did Mr. White's; but on he must go, if he be borne forward by a consistent principle, till he reach the other extreme.*

Many observations which have come before our minds we have been compelled to omit, for really there is no end to the incoherencies and impracticabilities of the High-Church scheme. It presents one inextricable confusion of rights belonging to the Universal Church with those of particular parts or national establishments. The Church is ever spoken of as indefectible—as the depositary of truth—the voice of antiquity,—and all this is said of the Universal Church. But when we come to the deference due to it in consequence of these prerogatives, by a process of logical jugglery, the Anglican contrives to step in to receive it as its right. If these divines would keep the two distinct in their argument, they would find it miserably lame.

We were not a little surprised to see the vulgar misstatement repeated in the *Critic's* pages, that Catholics believe their Church empowered to *create* articles of faith (p. 383). They claim for her no more authority than she exercised in the early ages, that of defining what had been believed within her from the beginning, and thus *declaring* articles of faith. The symbols of the ancient councils, as we have before observed, were only framed against heresies as they arose; and certain points were thus defined and proposed, for the first time, in clear formal terms, to the acceptance of the faithful. Other matters, such as the Eucharist, grace, justification, were omitted, because on them there was no error. Had any existed, the doctrine regarding them would have been as clearly laid down. And there can be no doubt but that a new obligation would thus have fallen upon all Christians, to believe definitively with the Church, on points whereon, before the definition, they could not be so well instructed, nor so accurately know the faith of the Church dispersed. Hence it is not an uncommon remark of judicious and primitive writers, that the Fathers spoke more loosely upon certain subjects before they had been clearly defined by the Church. If this declaration of matters, ever believed, but not before defined, be called a *creation* of new articles, we have no

* See his "Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy," p. 7.

objection to the *Critic's* phrase. But if by this term is signified that, according to Catholics, their Church may propose that to be believed which before was not believed, it is a gross perversion of truth to apply it to us.

In fact, we believe the Church, in regard to her authority, to have no past and no future. She is always one; and whatever she had ever a right to do after the Apostle's time, she has a right to do at present. When the *Critic*, or Mr. Keble, sends us back to antiquity as the rule of faith, joined to Scripture, and thereby means the doctrine of the three or four first centuries, we beg to remind him, that these times were once *the present* of the Church. The faithful of those days did not, could not, look to "antiquity," which then was not, but to the *living* Church. What was their rule of faith is ours; three hundred years, or eighteen hundred, from the time of Christ, cannot make a difference in a principle; it was nowhere appointed, or decreed, or foretold, that for so many centuries the *existing* Church should teach, and that, after that time, she should lose her guaranty, and be only the witness to antiquity. Yet so much must the *Critic* pretend, by boasting that the Catholic "gives to the existing Church the ultimate infallible decision in matters of saving faith . . . and the Anglican to antiquity, giving authority to the Church as being the witness and voice . . . of antiquity." What that antiquity held, we hold, for *it* could not acknowledge any authority but the *existing* Church.

Moreover, the High Church principle only removes the difficulties of Protestantism, or as the divines prefer calling it, of *ultra-Protestantism* another step; but it does not obviate them completely. Antiquity, as deposited in the writings of the early ages, is a dead letter as much as the Bible: it requires a living interpreter, no less. It has its obscurities, its perplexities, its apparent contradictions as much; it requires a guide no less to conduct us through its mazes. It cannot step in and decide between conflicting opinions and rival claims; it can, at most, be a code which requires a judge to apply it. It is more voluminous, more complex, more uncompact than Scripture; it needs more some methodizing and harmonizing, authoritative expounder. If national Churches can separately fulfil these offices, and sufficiently discharge these duties, they surely ought not to come to contradictory conclusions. Yet the Anglican stands in stark opposition to every other Episcopal Church throughout the world; its own daughter in America excepted.

And yet narrow as are the limits of this Church, its principle of faith has not secured to it the blessing which should be its destined result, a steadfast unity of belief among its members.

We speak not merely of the prevalence of dissent, but of the vast differences which the controversies, treated of in this article, have shown to exist between the members of the Anglican Church. The *British Critic* proposes a synod of that Church, as the best means of settling its present difficulties. Once more we say; let it be called, and we shall see how the Keble's and the Russells, the Newmans and the Arnolds, the Puseys and the Bickersteths, will agree in defining the first principle of faith, the ground on which all other controversies should be decided.

At the same time, comprehensive, nay, vast as is the pale of Catholicity, and embracing, as it does, every zone, and every quarter of the globe, let a council be called of its pastors, and you would see how differently *its* rule has attained the end of its existence, in the universal harmony it has produced in belief and practice. There you might interrogate a Bishop from New Spain, or a Vicar Apostolic from Sweden, a professor of the Sorbonne, or a country curate from the Abruzzi; you might consult the catechism taught to the child in Ireland, or to the native convert in the Philippine Islands, without discovering any wavering or hesitation on the question of church authority, or on any doctrine by it defined.

And by this comparison, it may be seen how in the Catholic Church the manifestation of the Son of Man, and the living Word of the Father, is, "as the lightning which cometh out of the east, and shineth even into the west," one single, indivisible and unsearchable blaze of light, pervading the entire heaven of human intelligence, from hemisphere to hemisphere. But if, on the one hand, when we are told, "Lo! he is in the desert," in camp-meetings and fields, preachings and revivals, amidst the mad exuberance of ultra-Protestant zeal, "we go not forth;" so, on the other, we hope to be pardoned if, on being modestly assured that "he is in the secret chambers" of one or two colleges in Oxford, where alone his doctrines may be had in their purity, "we believe it not."*

There is one point on which we fully agree with the *Critic*, and as it forms the beginning of his article, so it shall form the conclusion of ours. In common with many recent writers, he is of opinion that the controversies between our two Churches are only now fairly commencing. He thinks justly, that hitherto we have been assailed "rather by the power of the civil sword than by the arguments of divines." (p. 374.) The privilege of even attacking has been till now all on the other side, and we have been condemned, as a caste, to the ignobler labours of apology

* Matt. xxiv. 24, 26.

and defence. The staff of the oppressor hath now, however, been broken, we stand upon more equal ground, and it is our own fault if we follow not up our advantages. If the battle, of reason, we mean, and argument, has now to be fought, we, at least, will not steal away from the field ; our habits and feelings would suggest another course, and prompt us, like Tasso's shepherd, to seek seclusion from the war, in the humbler task of our own improvement, or of mere domestic duties. But there are times when every citizen is a soldier, in the spiritual as in civil warfare ; and a crisis like this is one. The course which we shall pursue shall be consistent and persevering. We seek not the wealth of our Anglican neighbours, nor their establishment, nor their political power, nor their usurped influence. All these things we esteem as dross. But we covet their brotherhood in the faith, and their participation in our security of belief and their being bound to us in cords of love, through religious unity. For these things, we will contend, unceasingly, and to the utmost of our power ; and GOD DEFEND THE RIGHT !

ART. IV.—1. *Report on the Civil Government of Canada, 1828.*

2. *Petition of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada for a Redress of Grievances.* March, 1834.
3. *Petition (the Second) from the Assembly of Lower Canada.* December, 1834. *With explanatory Remarks* (by H. S. Chapman). March, 1835.
4. *Existing Difficulties of the Government of the Canadas.* By J. A. Roebuck, M.P. 1836.
5. *The last Session of the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada.* By E. B. O'Callaghan, M.P. April, 1836.
6. *Petition (the third) from the House of Assembly of Lower Canada.* 1836.
7. *Seventh Report of the Committee on Grievances (Upper Canada.)* Toronto. 1835.
8. *Canadiana; or, Sketches of Upper Canada: and the Political Crisis.* By W. B. Wells, Esq., Member of the Parliament of U. C. 1837.
9. *Reports of the Commissioners to Lower Canada.* 1837.
10. *The "Times" Newspaper of the 7th and 9th of March, and April 15th. "Debates on Canada."*

THE Canadian question has more than ordinary claims on the attention of the liberal Irish reader : first, from the great similarity of the evils which pervade the government of

both countries; next, from the vast number of the people of Ireland who not merely seek, but who actually find a home in that colony; and lastly, from the fact, that the dispute involves one of the most interesting and important questions in the science, of government which has ever agitated the public mind—we mean the constitution,—and perhaps even the existence of a second legislative chamber.

The Canadas, like Ireland, have long been handed over to the domination of a cruel and vindictive oligarchy—"a miserable minority"—which would be contemptible without its English bayonets. In Ireland, the ruling few have found sympathy with the imperial government by means of a similarity of religious belief. In Lower Canada, the same end has been attained, with much more advantage to the local oligarchy, by means of a similarity of language. In Ireland, the governed masses differ from their oppressors in religious belief (in language they can scarcely be said to differ any longer), in Canada, the religious difference exists also; but the local oligarchy were not slow to perceive that similarity of religion was a bond of union between two sections of the population, namely, the French Canadians and the Irish,—hence that source of difference was rendered wholly inapplicable to their object, and similarity of language was erected into a source of sympathy with the government, with the hope of entrapping the Irish and Americans to the side of the oligarchy. But the scheme failed. Although religion in the one country, and language in the other, may be, as in fact they are, the bond of sympathetic union between the dominant few and the imperial government; we shall hereafter see that a *desire for self-government* is the only bond which unites the people of all origins in the Canadian provinces.

Impressed then with a sense of the great importance of coming to a right decision on this subject, it is our intention, in the following pages, to examine the character of the civil government of those provinces, to exhibit the present state of popular opinion there, and to ascertain if the remedies demanded by the Canadians be adequate to the removal of the evils complained of, and to the permanent establishment of good government; and lastly, to exhibit the character of the measure lately introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell.

The present Constitutions of Upper and Lower Canada owe their existence to the 31st Geo. III. c. 31, commonly called the "Canadian Constitutional Act."

Previous to passing the act in question, the whole of Canada was comprised in one province, called the "Province of Quebec;" and was governed by a governor and council appointed by the

crown, according to the provisions of the 14th Geo. III. c. 83, called the "Quebec Act."

The changes effected by the 31st Geo. III. c. 31, were, *first*, the division of the province of Quebec into two provinces, of Upper and Lower Canada; the first being inland, and the last towards the sea: and, *second*, the establishment of two constitutions, alleged to be perfect copies or imitations of that which has so often been alleged to be inimitable,—namely, the British Constitution.

According to the Canadian Constitutions thus established, the legislative power is vested in, *first*, a governor, whose assent is necessary to the making a law; and who, contrary to the practice of the mother country, not unfrequently withholds his assent. *Second*: a Legislative Council or Second Chamber, chosen by the crown for life. *Third*: a House of Assembly, which represents the people much more completely than the British House of Commons, as the franchise is sufficiently low to include nearly every male inhabitant of mature age.

The administrative power is vested in the governor, as head of the executive, aided by an executive council, having duties somewhat similar to those of our privy-council; the chief duty being to advise with the governor in all matters where two or more heads are conceived to be better than one.

The judiciary consists of a chief justice and three judges at Quebec, a similar establishment at Montreal; with one judge for the district of Three Rivers, another for St. Francis, and a third for Gaspé. These hold courts of original jurisdiction, from the judgments of which there is an appeal to a higher court, formed of the governor and executive council, with an associated judge, who has not heard the case in the courts below. The judges are all appointed--not during good behaviour—but during the pleasure of the crown; which, in practice, means the pleasure of the local oligarchy, of which they form a part.

From the judgment of this court of appeal, there is a further appeal to the king in council.*

In order to understand the real nature and operation of the Canadian Constitution, as above briefly described, it is necessary to take a near view of the materials of which the two branches of the legislature are composed. We shall begin with the councils.

If the reader will take the trouble to turn to the debate which

* In Upper Canada a court of appeal has never been organised, so that appeals from the decisions of the courts of original jurisdiction, are direct to the king in council.

took place in the House of Commons on the Canadian Constitutional Act—a debate memorable for the quarrel between Burke and Fox—he will find, that the object of the minister, in erecting the legislative councils, was to form an aristocracy in each of the Canadas, so as to make the imitation of the British model as perfect as possible. Mr. Pitt even contemplated the subsequent introduction of hereditary titles,—but this folly (though authorised by the 31st Geo. III. c. 31, sec. 6) has never been attempted. But the formation of an aristocracy in Canada was not so easy a matter. At the time of the passing of the act, there did not exist any materials out of which an aristocracy could be formed; besides which, the social state of the people did not favour the accomplishment of so splendid a design, as the friends of the act appear to have contemplated.

Previous to the conquest, it is possible that materials for the manufacture of a colonial aristocracy might have been found. The seigneurs were for the most part members of the *noblesse* of France, to whom the people looked up with respect; and the Château de St. Louis, at Quebec, was filled with scions of the same class, attracted thither by the numerous good things which the mimic court had to bestow. The bar was also on the same aristocratic footing as that of France; and the ecclesiastics were not then as they are now, men drawn from and sympathizing with the masses, but were for the most part importations from the aristocratic Gallican Church.

The mass of the people too, at that time, had not tasted of the sweets of self-government, even of the imperfect and inadequate kind since introduced among them. They had not been called upon to exercise the duties of jurors as they have since been. The business of election was to them wholly unknown. Hence, being ignorant of these things, they had no objection to the existence of a class holding power not derived from themselves.

The first fruit of the conquest was the extinction of this natural aristocracy as some delight to call it; the next was the rendering the people indisposed towards an aristocracy of any kind.

Such of the ancient *noblesse* as had the means, returned soon after the conquest to old France; while such as remained, being no longer preferred to offices of trust and profit about the local government, were compelled to live as best they could upon their country estates. Among the honest, hardy, and cheerful farmers of Lower Canada, we still find names having the aristocratic mark of *de*,—the possessors of which have now nothing to distinguish them from their neighbours; and are, moreover, quite unconscious of their original dignity.

The persons whom the conquest found in power, persons intimately connected with the aristocracy of France, were, as may be imagined, speedily displaced, in order to make room for such of the "king's ancient subjects" as deemed themselves to have a claim upon the first fruits of conquest. There was accordingly a very general dismissal of the incumbents of office, and a substitution of persons drawn from the ranks of the conquerors, to fill the various offices in the country.

"Few of these persons," says a contemporary writer,* "were of a respectable class in the provinces whence they had emigrated; and their deportment in their new dignity did not much serve to alleviate the grief and chagrin of the discarded French *noblesse*, who felt themselves not less disgraced by their own dismission, than by the elevation of such men into their seats. There were few or none of these 'ancient subjects' who had landed property in Canada. They had been either sutlers to the troops or Indian traders; and although those who were appointed magistrates now added *Esquire* to their names, they did not think fit to lay aside their former occupations. Indeed, such as were removed to a considerable distance from Quebec, found a way of rendering their magisterial powers useful in their trade; for, as the law was in their own hands, they took the liberty of moulding it to any form that suited their purpose. The Canadians had, in the course of their dealings, contracted debts with these and other traders, expecting to pay in peltry, or the produce of their farms, when the season came round; but, to their utter astonishment, they found themselves cited before the magistrates for the most trifling sums. Condemned to make instant payment, at times when they had no means in their power, and on failure thereof, their persons were arrested, dragged from their farms and families, and committed to a common prison, there to remain until their creditors received satisfaction for their demands. If the debt exceeded forty shillings, their case was still worse; for then they were arrested by the writ of the Court of Quebec, and from the remotest part of the province, transmitted, under custody of a deputy marshall, like felons, to the capital. As by the French laws, no process went against the person of the debtor until his chattels were found insufficient, and of these he was allowed time to make the most, at the proper season, by the merciful decree of his seigneur, it is difficult to conceive the misery and distress in which the poor Canadians found themselves involved by the operation of these new and unknown laws; and when to the afflicting circum-

* "Justice and Policy of the Quebec Act approved." London, 1774.

stances we have already stated, we add the enormous expense attending a process out of the Superior Court, executed at so great a distance, we shall cease to wonder that the Canadians are not in raptures with the English laws of arrest, and be less amazed at the obstinate prejudice they entertain for their own laws and customs."

These "suttlers" and "Indian traders" then were the chief materials for the formation of an aristocracy, introduced after the cession of Canada in 1763. The process by which the destruction of the French aristocracy was effected, is thus described by a Canadian writer :—"The English introduced among the population a spirit of traffic; they taught them to appreciate the advantages of individual wealth, and to feel that a man might be of importance although not descended from a noble race. The English traders spread themselves over the country, bartered and trafficked with the inhabitants, introducing new articles of luxury, and creating a demand for the various productions of the country. The *bourgeoisie*, or ignoble inhabitants of the towns, caught the spirit; laboured, and laboured successfully, to accumulate wealth for themselves,—and being a frugal and prudent race, they quickly found themselves possessed of fortunes more than sufficient to enable them to cope with the broken-down *noblesse* around them. They, therefore, began immediately to compete with this fading generation, both in political and social life."*

The result of deprivation of office, united with the competition of the *bourgeoisie*, may easily be conceived. The new men became wealthy and powerful, whilst the *noblesse*, who disdained traffic, became miserably poor. Another cause of the decay of the *ancienne noblesse* was their neglect of the education of their children, whilst the *bourgeoisie*, having themselves acquired riches, sought out for the means of imparting instruction to their children; "by means of the seminaries of the province, their children received a fair and useful education, by, and of, the priesthood,—and were thus enabled to surpass their noble competitors in knowledge, as their fathers had before surpassed them in wealth." In this manner the only body of men bearing any the smallest resemblance to old-country aristocracies was completely and for ever swept away, and the authors of the Constitutional Act thus deprived of the means of realizing their golden anticipations.

To the "suttlers" and "Indian traders," described in the

* See "A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada." By a Canadian. London, 1830.

first extract, and the enriched *bourgeoisie*, described in the second, another class of materials for a pseudo-aristocracy must be added, consisting of the banished officials and other "loyalists," as they delighted to call themselves, from the Old Colonies, after the declaration of independence in 1776. These persons, having by their representations been the chief instigators of the obnoxious measures adopted by the mother country with a view to coerce the United Colonies, were, of course, compelled to seek their safety in flight, the moment the oppressed colonists were driven to open resistance. They very naturally sought an asylum in the colonies which remained, where, by a continued clamour about their sufferings and loyalty, by a claim to compensation for the losses which they were supposed to have sustained, and a reward for their adherence to the "loyal" side in a quarrel which they had really been the chief means of generating for their own selfish purposes, they soon succeeded in obtaining a large share of such offices as became vacant, or were created, in the province of Quebec. In this manner the classes we have mentioned, differing from each other only in the way in which they were respectively called into existence, united to form a kind of petty local oligarchy, who shared, with some few scions of the English aristocracy, nearly all the administrative, judicial, and legislative offices, including the Council of Quebec, established under the acts of 1774.

When the Constitutional Act of 1791 was carried into operation, the Legislative Council was necessarily chosen out of the above class; in fact, there was no other class out of which an "aristocratic branch" of the legislature could be chosen. The Executive Council, a kind of permanent privy-council, to advise the governor, was nothing more than the old Council of Quebec under a new name. The members of this council had the ear of the governor; and, as their advice has generally been taken in the filling-up of appointments, as their influence over each succeeding governor has been great, they have of course contributed more than any other body to the perpetuation of power in the hands of the local oligarchy,—in other words, their own class.

To detail the manner in which this perpetuation of official power has worked, up to the present day, in both the Canadas, would require a very large space indeed; we shall therefore content ourselves by exhibiting some of the most striking mischiefs, giving the preference to those for which we have warrant in parliamentary documents.

In 1833 and 1834, Mr. Hume, to whose exertions in the cause of good colonial government, Canada, especially the Upper

Province, is greatly indebted, moved for the production of certain papers relative to the Legislative Councils of the two provinces. These important papers* form the ground-work of the statements which we are about to make, aided by some of the works at the head of this article.

The Legislative Council of Lower Canada consists of about thirty-five members; of these a very large majority consist of persons belonging to the official or *bureaucratic* party, as it is called in the town province. The minority, "coinciding with the views of the Assembly," does not exceed five or six persons, who were introduced evidently for the purpose of making a show of carrying into effect the recommendation of the Canada Committee of 1828, that popular persons should be introduced into the Council. Among the members of the Council are several lucrative place-holders. The Chief-Justice is a member, so also are two or three of the judges. These last have not attended of late; but there they are, having the legal right to sit, and ready to attend the moment their presence may be of vital importance to their class. Besides these, there are some members of the Executive Council, the Bishop, the Commissioner of Crown Lands (an alleged delinquent under suspension), the Receiver-General, an ex-receiver-general (*a proved* delinquent), the Commissioner of the Jesuits' estates, and some others.

The Executive Council consists of eight members, six of whom hold office, and two are legislative Councillors. But, as if all this were not enough to beget a perfect identity of interest between the two Councils, there is a sort of mutual accommodation in the way of appointing clerks. Two of the members of the Legislative Council are clerks of the Executive Council, whilst two executive Councillors are clerks of the Legislative Council.

In Upper Canada this monstrous state of things exists with equal force, but with some few modifications of detail, which it is not necessary to enter into in this place: suffice it to say, that the oligarchy is of an equally odious character in both provinces.

The nest-feathering propensities of these official personages require now to be exhibited. In Lower Canada the Chief Justice and his family actually swallow up about one-thirtieth part of the whole revenue of the province. The following is a list of the family and the offices they hold:—

* See Sessional Papers, No. 433, 25th June, 1833, and No. 149, 24th March, 1834.

1. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice - - -	£1,500
Ditto, Speaker of the Legislative Council	900
Ditto, Circuits - - -	50
2. Wm. T. Sewell, Sheriff, son of No. 1	1,500 or 2000
3. Edward Sewell, son of No. 1, Missionary	200 or more
4. John Sewell, son of No. 1, Usher of the Black Rod - - -	180
Ditto, Postmaster - - -	400
5. Henry Sewell, son of No. 1, Reading Clerk of the Legislative Council -	200
6. Montague Sewell, son of No. 1, Extra Writing Clerk to the Legislative Council - - -	100

No. 5 succeeded his brother Robert, who died. There is yet another son to be provided for; the grand-sons of No. 1—the sons of Nos. 2 and 3—who are married, will require the fostering *grand-parental* aid of this prince of official nest-feathers.

We shall not trouble the reader with any other list from Lower Canada; suffice it to say, it might be swelled with the Smiths and the Bowens, and the Coffins, and the Cochrans (one of whom enjoys four or five paid offices), all well known Colonial names.

Let us now exhibit a sample from the sister province :—

1. D'Arcy Boulton, sen., a retired pensioner	£500
2. D'Arcy Boulton, jun., son of No. 1, Au- ditor-General - - -	unknown
3. William, son of No. 1, Church Missionary and Professor of King's College -	650
4. George, son of No. 1, Registrar of North- umberland - - -	unknown

(Another son, Henry, was Attorney-General with about 2,500*l.* a year, but was deprived of his office by Lord Ripon. He is now Chief Justice of Newfoundland, where his conduct has created universal disgust.)

5. John Beverly Robinson, son-in-law of No. 1, Chief Justice and Speaker of the Council - - -	2,066
6. Peter, brother to No. 5, Commissioner of Crown-lands, Executive Councillor, &c.	750
7. William, brother to the above, Post- master of Newmarket - - -	unknown
8. Jonas Jones, son-in-law to No. 1, Judge of three District Courts, with other offices - - -	1000

[July,

9. Alpheus Jones, brother of No. 8, Collector of Customs at Prescott—Postmaster -	900
10 and 11. Two other Jones's holding offices, the incomes of which are - - -	unknown
12. Levius Sherwood, brother-in-law to the Jones's,—Judge - - - -	1000
13, 14, and 15. Three other Sherwoods, all holding offices, but whose incomes are	unknown.

This list might be swelled to upwards of forty individuals all in some way either directly or indirectly connected with each other. A writer on Canada observes:—

“ This family connexion rules Upper Canada according to its own good pleasure, and has no efficient check from England to guard the people against its acts of tyranny and oppression. It includes the whole of the Judges of the Supreme, Civil, and Criminal Tribunals—all active Tory politicians. It includes half the Executive Council, or Provincial Cabinet.

“ It includes the Speaker and eight other Members of the Legislative Council.

“ It includes the persons who have the controul of the Canada Company's monopoly.

“ It includes the President and Solicitor of the Bank, and above half the Bank Directors; together with shareholders, holding, to the best of my recollection, about 1,800 shares.”—*M'Kenzie's Sketches of Upper Canada.* Wilson, p. 409.

The manner in which the members of the Canadian oligarchy procure large grants of land will be well exhibited by the following case:

Wm. B. Felton	-	-	-	-	14,141 acres.
<i>Children of Ditto.</i>					
William	-	-	-	-	1000 acres.
Eliza	-	-	-	-	1200
Charlotte	-	-	-	-	1200
Fanny	-	-	-	-	1200
Maria	-	-	-	-	1200
Matilda	-	-	-	-	1200
Louisa	-	-	-	-	1200
Octavia	-	-	-	-	1200
23,541					

It would puzzle any one to discover what service Miss Fanny, or Miss Matilda, or Miss Octavia, an infant at the time of the grant, had rendered to the people of Lower Canada, that they should be thus rewarded out of what should be the chief resource of a new country.

Among the official persons thus possessed of the governing power, the most perfect irresponsibility prevails. No delinquency, however atrocious, meets with punishment. The public robber is not merely screened from justice, but the mere fact of a public accusation is sufficient to render the object of it a mark for honours and consideration from his class. The person above named, Felton, was proved to have procured some 8000 or 10,000 acres of his land by fraud and deception, and so clear was the case that it became impossible for the government to screen him. Nevertheless, his compeers regarded him as unfortunate, not criminal. They are, in fact, in open war against society in Canada, and a case of detection excites their sympathy not their condemnation. They regard him as a band of pickpockets regard a detected fellow, merely as being "in trouble." If they have a feeling at all disadvantageous to the delinquent, it is similar to that of the Spartan boys. A Sir John Caldwell, some few years since, when Receiver-General, got in arrear to the extent of several hundred thousand dollars (the debt amounted in 1835 to 600,000); that he was deficient was long suspected by the Assembly, but he was protected by the Governor Dalhousie, on the plea that he was not the officer of the Assembly, but of the Crown; and, therefore, the Assembly had nothing to do with the matter. At length there was not money to pay some small warrant, although there ought to have been more than 100,000*l.* in the chest; hence an *exposé* was necessary. The Assembly now reminded the Governor of his plea: "He is the officer of the Crown," said they, "therefore the Crown must bear the loss;" but the argument was not intended to cut two ways. The people have never had redress, and the delinquent ex-receiver has been ever since one of the brightest ornaments of the mimic Court of the Château de St. Louis.

In most cases where a delinquent official is to be screened from punishment the local oligarchy has the support of the Colonial Office, but the cases are numerous in which protection has been extended to a delinquent or obnoxious official even by the Governor himself, in direct opposition to the Colonial Office. The following is a most striking case:—

In 1834, the Governor, Lord Aylmer, appointed, as *puisné* Judge, a person named Gale, who had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the people of Canada as the violent partizan of Lord Dalhousie. The second petition complains "that the sacred character of justice had been polluted in its source by the appointing to the high office of Judge of the King's Bench for the district of Montreal, a violent and decided partizan of the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie, and the declared enemy of the laws he is sworn to administer." This Gale came to

England in 1827, and gave evidence marked by such bitter animosity towards the people of Canada, that it was generally understood a mark was set against his name at the Colonial Office. This, at all events, is certain, that Mr. Rice, when Colonial Minister, refused to allow the appointment. Now let the reader mark the conduct of Lord Aylmer, backed by the whole official class. The official dispatch of Mr. Rice was sent to Lord Aylmer just before the Whigs went out of office. It was forwarded by the Post-office packet from Falmouth. The news of the Tories being again in power went out by the New York packet. Now it so happens that the government conveyance is usually some three weeks behind the New York packet-ships,—it would be undignified on the part of a government packet to emulate the hurry of a vulgar trader. Hence, at the time Lord Aylmer received Mr. Rice's commands, it is more than probable that he was aware of the change of ministry, and the wily Lord hesitated not to disobey the orders of his fallen master. Lord Aberdeen of course approved of the above conduct, and Mr. Gale continued to enjoy the office.

When the Whigs again came into power the Colonists began to felicitate themselves with the idea that Mr. Rice's dispatch would be at once fulfilled. But they were doomed to be disappointed; the government, with what appears to us an unaccountable want of dignity, remained quiescent, and the obnoxious judge is still upon the bench.

We shall not at this moment distract the reader by continuing an enumeration of the manifold acts of insolence of which the officials are constantly guilty, not merely towards the people of Canada, but towards the Imperial Government; but shall proceed to the consideration of the most potent evil springing out of the legislative power possessed by this party.

The Legislative Council—the mimic House of Lords—the Canadian second Legislative Chamber, is, as we have seen, composed almost entirely of the official party, without the most indirect or remote responsibility to the people, and having but small sympathy with them. The Assembly, on the other hand, is the people's house, not merely *nominally*, but substantially, representing the masses by a suffrage really and practically universal. This franchise is conferred by the possession of a forty-shilling freehold, and where one hundred acres of land can be had in the seigneuries by *asking for it*, and in the townships for an instalment of five pounds, no man of full age need be without the franchise. The consequence of this extensive suffrage, united with the social equality of the people, is that the Assembly of Lower Canada is essentially a democratic body—

more so, perhaps, than any one of the representative Houses of the individual States of the Union. Can a house so constituted possibly agree with a Legislative Council which is merely the stronghold of a band of irresponsible officials? Evidently not. There must be perpetual disagreement between the two branches of the Canadian legislature.

And how does this disagreement between the Council and the Assembly make itself manifest? In the same way that disagreement occasionally rears its head between the Commons and the Lords of this, the mother country—by the rejection by the Council of measures which have been passed by the Assembly in obedience to the wishes of the people,

The pamphlet entitled “The Last Session of the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada,” which we have placed the fifth on our list, exhibits a frightful example of the “obstructive” character of the Canadian Legislative Council. In fourteen years the number of bills passed by the Assembly, and rejected by the Council, was no less than *two hundred and sixteen*, besides which, *eighty-six* were so altered as to insure their final rejection by the Assembly. This makes no less than *three hundred and two* bills lost in fourteen years, in consequence of the obstructive character of the Legislative Council. Speaking of the Session 1835-6, the author of the pamphlet just quoted, a member of the Lower Canadian Assembly, says:—

“ Of 107 Bills sent up to the Council, thirty-four, or nearly one-third of the whole, have never been heard of; and fifteen have been so amended as to be rendered utterly useless, if not worse than useless. Thus nearly one-half a session of five months’ continuance has been entirely destroyed, and the great expense of money and time which has been incurred by a protracted session, rendered utterly fruitless by what has now become a *systematic rejection* of measures required for the public benefit.

“ If, on the other hand, we examine the labours of the Legislative Council, what is the most startling feature that strikes us? In a session of one hundred and forty-seven days that body produced *six* Bills, one of which was to amend a road act, and the other—worthy offspring of such a parent!—to repress *charivari!** ”

“ It is true that during this period they were not idle; they were busy destroying nearly one half of the bills which the people’s representatives had just passed; thus, in the words of Neilson’s Quebec Gazette in 1827, ‘ turning against the country the power with which they were invested for its benefit.’ Thus affording an incontestable proof of unfitness for their trust, and of how strong is the necessity which exists of stripping them of their power, and disabling them, as we would public enemies, from perpetrating public mischief.”—*The Late Session, &c.* p. 3.

* The *Charivari* is a sort of marrow-bone and cleaver row in masquerade.

It would be quite impossible for us to enumerate the various bills of a beneficial character which have met with destruction at the ruthless hands of the evil-working Council ; we shall, therefore, instance only a few of the most prominent.

The Canadian Assemblies are fond of assimilating their laws and institutions, as nearly as suits the circumstances of the country, and habits of the people, to British laws and customs. With this view they have repeatedly passed a bill to compel a member who shall accept an office under the Crown to go back to his constituents. This, our readers must agree, is a very salutary measure, yet the Council has always rejected it.

Another case in point was, "a bill for the better securing the freedom of elections, by the removal of troops from the places at which such elections shall be held." In both the Canadas the constitution-loving Englishman will be both astonished and disgusted by seeing armed troops paraded in the cities within sight of the polling-booths, and mixing among the voters as they proceed to the poll. In 1832, in the middle of the day, without any disturbance to justify such a proceeding, the people were fired on by the troops, by the order of a cowardly and cruel magistrate of the Council party. The Assembly very naturally desire to prevent a similar proceeding, and more especially to prevent a spurious return by means of armed intimidation. But the Council naturally attaches enormous value to the English bayonets generally, and especially as regards their "legitimate influence" at an election ; hence the bill is regularly rejected. For the education of the people the Assembly has always shown itself duly solicitous. Its struggle against the Council on this score dates from a very early period. Various unsuccessful efforts had been made by the Assembly to establish elementary schools on the Scotch system, and especially in 1814, when a bill was introduced to give the people of the several parishes the power of assessing themselves, and of appointing trustees, but the Council interposed its blighting *veto*, and the children of Canada remained untaught. "Numbers of bills," says the author of the pamphlet which stands the fifth on our list, "to establish schools in the province were introduced after this, and rejected by the same Council, who would have no other act than the proselytizing act of 1831, and the Royal Institution." (p. 12.)

In 1829, however, by dint of the most indomitable perseverance, the Assembly did procure the passing of an elementary school bill, and great indeed was the joy of the people. The same year 14,753 scholars were taught at these schools, and in 1835 they had increased to 37,658. Forseeing that, as the system worked, the act would require continual amendments, it

was unfortunately, as it happened, not made permanent, and in 1836 the Council would not renew it or substitute any other act for it. It consequently expired, and in one day upwards of 1,600 schools were shut up, and more than 40,000 scholars deprived of the blessing of education. The liberal newspapers came out on the day on which the act expired clothed in the insignia of woe. Such are the acts of a party whose perpetual outcry is, that the Catholic religion is the enemy of education !

Sometimes the interference of the Council is of the most paltry kind, as in the case following : — At the present time, barristers hold their commissions *during the pleasure of the crown* ; and they pay a fee of three guineas for it. The Assembly, wishing to amend this, passed a bill abolishing the above tenure, and reducing the fee to a trifle. The bill was never heard of when it got into the Council, “ It touched the pockets of the office-holders, by diminishing their fees ; and, as the council protect the office-holders against the people, and not the people against the office-holders, the bill was naturally thrown out.”

We shall pursue these details no farther. We have gone quite far enough to show that agreement between two distinct legislative chambers, composed of such opposite elements as those of Lower Canada, is and ever must be out of the question. The commons' house is essentially a democratic chamber ; the interests of its members are perfectly identical with those of the people, of which, indeed, they are a part. The members of the Council, on the other, have, or, what amounts to the same thing, fancy they have, interests opposed to the people. Hence they oppose themselves to the people as a governing oligarchy.

In this country we are beginning to experience the inconvenience of a second chamber so constituted as to have interests opposed to the Commons' branch. If our House of Commons were as completely democratic as the Canadian Assembly, what, in the language of party, is called *collision*, would be much more frequent than it now is. Before the passing of the Reform Bill, collision, as we now understand it, was never heard of. And why was it not ? Simply because the two houses had interests in common. The peers and their families returned, or rather nominated, a full majority of the House of Commons, so that the latter was wholly an aristocratic body,—a branch, in fact, of the upper chamber, under another name, the members being not necessarily endowed with titles. The Reform Act, though it did not destroy the aristocratic character of the house, introduced a new element, which so far altered the general tone of

that body, as to render it impossible for the party which sympathized with the upper house to carry on the government. Hence the party which had always, when out of power, professed some sympathy for the people, became possessed of the government; and, although their legislation has not been of a character to give unqualified satisfaction to the people, it has been extremely distasteful to the peers, and a collision has been the result. As the people obtain a greater degree of controul over the Commons' house—and obtain it they will—collision will become more frequent, and of a more serious character, until at length it will be impossible to carry on the business of legislation. The constitution will stop, and we shall witness a similar struggle to that which has so long prevailed in Canada—a struggle between the two branches of the legislature, the lower house embodying the opinions and wishes of the governed many; the upper, those of the ruling few;—a struggle, in short, between the two adverse principles of democracy and aristocracy.

We have no hesitation in saying that the real nature of the British constitution is generally much better understood in Lower Canada than in the mother country. In this country, it required the acute philosophy of a Bentham, to sift from the complicated mass called the constitution the true rationale of the harmonious working of the whole. It was to corruption alone that the boasted harmony was owing. In Lower Canada corruption never forced her way within the hallowed precincts of the Commons' house; hence the defective working of the machine made every one practically acquainted with its true nature. Mr. Bentham's *Fragment on Government* was published in 1776. One would almost suppose that the Canadian constitution of 1791 was intended to prove the soundness of that great and good man's views. As we must necessarily return to this constitutional point when we come to notice the recent debates in parliament, we shall content ourselves in this place with mentioning that the Assembly and people of Lower Canada regard the Council as the stronghold of corruption,—as acting as a "screen" (this is Lord Stanley's expression) between the people and the Imperial Government,—as being "at the root of all the evils (another phrase of Lord Stanley's) under which the people of Lower Canada have so long groaned;" and they have, therefore, repeatedly prayed, "that the Legislative Council, as at present constituted, be abolished, and that the people of this province be empowered to elect the second branch of the legislature in future, as the only means of producing that

harmony, without which internal peace and good government cannot ex st."—*Petition (second) of 1834*, p. 10.

Persons who are interested in misrepresenting the Canadians, are in the habit of alluding to the long list of grievances—the ninety-two resolutions, *each a grievance*,—of which the Canadians demand redress. It is here necessary to state that the people of Canada do not demand the redress of each specific grievance; they demand the power of remedying their grievances. Formerly, before their political education was much better than that of an English shopocrat or a French *épicier*, they did fall into the error of demanding the redress of each specific grievance; but they soon found that this plan would only involve disappointment,—that it would amount to a perpetuation of bad government. They perceived, that if the evil-working system were permitted to remain, a new crop of grievances would spring up as fast as those existing at any given time were removed. A demand consequently arose among them for a change of the system; and they now quote grievances merely as so many illustrations of the abominable and vicious system of which they seek the removal.

It may be here proper to mention, that they were probably led into this enlightened course by a most able article which appeared in the *Westminster Review* for July 1827, in which the Legislative Council was pointed out to be the source of the misgovernment, and, consequently, the object upon which the Canadians should make their attacks. This article is well known to have been written by Mr. Roebuck, and it certainly gave a new turn to the views of the leading Canadians. Mr. Roebuck recommended the total abolition of the Council; but, from motives of policy, or, perhaps, from a habit of regarding the institutions of the United States as the foster parent of happiness, the demand of the Canadians has hitherto been for an elective council similar to those which existed in the old colonies, under the charters granted by the House of Stuart. In the evidence of Mr. John Neilson, one of the Canadian delegates, in 1828, we find an elective council recommended as a remedy for the then existing discontent. From that time forward it became the theme of discussion in the colony: and in the early part of 1834 it became the subject of the prayer of the Assembly in their petition to the imperial parliament.

This is the great *radical* reform which the people of Canada wisely consider would enable them to take into their own hands reform in detail. There is no evil that presses upon them which a legislature in harmony would not be competent to remedy. The governor, the representative of the imperial government, it

is true, would still possess a veto; but the people feel, that when removed from the blighting influence of the local oligarchy, the governor would have no interest against the people: he would govern, with the Assembly, for the people, and the veto would be rarely exercised.

For this single reform, the Canadians would compromise all other considerations, would silence all other demands; but at present there are three evils of which they complain, and demand the removal, distinct from reform of the Council:—

1. They demand that they be protected from the constant seizure of their revenues by the local administration; and that the legal right of the Assembly to a perfect controul over expenditure be held inviolate.

2. They demand to be protected against the interference of the Imperial Government in their local affairs; and that the Tenures Act and the Land Company's Charter, which are gross cases of such undue interference, be repealed.

3. They demand complete parliamentary controul over the waste lands.

I. The history of the financial difficulties of Lower Canada presents some very remarkable features. When the Canadian legislature was first called together, the whole of the revenues of the province were placed by Lord Dorchester, the then governor, under the controul of the Assembly; and the claim which has been subsequently set up by the official party to a portion of the revenues, was an *after thought*, arising from a desire on the part of the said officials to render themselves independent of popular controul. During the first years of the Canadian Constitution, the local revenues were not sufficient for the expenditure, and there was a balance voted by the Imperial Parliament. Of this sum the local authorities had the controul; and, as the Assembly did not at first understand its own functions, all appeared tolerably quiet. In 1810, however, the provincial revenues had increased to a point sufficient for the expenditure, and the Assembly offered "to pay their own civil expenditure." Will the reader believe that this offer was treated by the official party as treasonable? The gentleman who made the proposal, Mr. Bedard, afterwards raised to the Bench, "a man distinguished for ability, singleness of heart, and a devoted attachment to constitutional principles, was, with some of his supporters, lodged in the common gaol for the district of Quebec." The Assembly, however, prevailed. They obtained the privilege of paying their own servants, and with it the power of controuling them. This was the sore point with the officials: they have

never got over it; and the whole of the financial difficulties which have subsequently occurred, have arisen solely out of the writhings and contortions of the officials to avoid responsibility, and to make themselves independent of the commons' house. In this effort they have unhappily been seconded by the Colonial Office.

The first scheme of the official party was to procure a vote of supplies *en bloc*, in a lump sum, with the intention of dividing it according to the approved English method,—the lion's share to the strongest. This scheme failed. They then demanded a permanent civil list. This also failed repeatedly, until the time of Lord Dalhousie, when the demand was changed for a civil list during the life of the king. This, said the officials, is the English custom, and all loyal people should love English customs. The officials forgot, however, that they told only *half the story* about English customs. In England the civil list is granted for life, in return for certain revenues which the king gives up. The officials said nothing about this return—this *quid pro quo*. This consideration being wanting, to have granted a permanent civil list would have robbed the Assembly of all power. It was accordingly refused; and the Assembly have ever since persisted in their demand to control expenditure.

Besides the schemes to avoid responsibility above enumerated, another plan of the officials has been to lay claim to certain revenues, pretending that they are the property of the crown, and not of the people. They laid claim, for instance, to certain duties, because they were called "crown duties," and were levied under the authority of an imperial statute. On this point, however, the Assembly succeeded in establishing their right, which was confirmed, *not created*, by a statute of the first year of the late reign. Foiled here, the official party continued to lay claim to what is called the casual and territorial revenue. But recently all these claims to partial revenues have been rendered unimportant by the seizure of the public revenues, and the payment of the officials, by the authority of the Colonial office.

II. The interference of the Imperial Government in matters purely local, has given the greatest possible disgust to the Assembly and people of Lower Canada. The Tenures Act was one of these. It was objected to as interfering with a large class of rights, such, for instance, as those of minors and married women, and producing the greatest possible disturbance and difficulty. If it were intended to render rights insecure, and to generate litigation, the act was certainly well contrived. The Canadians contend, that concerning so purely local a matter as

[July,

the tenure of land, with all its incidents, the Imperial Parliament is not competent to legislate. If legislation be attempted in ignorance, it must be fraught with error, and therefore with mischief; and it is for the reason that none but a local assembly can know aught of such purely local matters, that they demand a full recognition of the principle of non-interference.

The charter of the British American Land Company is another case of interference of which they complain. The Colonial Office, with an inexcusable disregard to the interests of the colony, transferred to the above company a large portion of the lands of Lower Canada for a mere trifle. Now, with good management, the lands of a new colony may be made to pay not merely all the civil expenses of the government, but also to provide means for educating the people, and of carrying on public improvements. By the improvident act of the Colonial Office, this source of revenue has been cut off, having been transferred from the people, to whom of right it belongs, to a set of rapacious speculators. The Assembly have formally demanded the repeal of this Act, and have declared, that not only will they never sanction the company, but that they will confiscate the lands of the company, whensoever they have the power.* The late Assembly of Upper Canada also carried a very strong resolution against the Upper Canada (Land) Company.

III. Control over the waste lands necessarily follows, as a demand, after that for the repeal of the above acts. The people of Canada perceive that the sale of the public lands would supersede taxation, whilst at present they are used by the executive as a means of corruption, and by the officials as an object of plunder. There is scarcely a single official personage who does not possess large domains. A specimen of this we have already given in the case of Felton.

We have now completed our picture of the state of misrule in Lower Canada, up to the time the people became convinced that the parent of the evil was the Legislative Council, as then and at present constituted. We have now to mark down the subsequent course of events.

We may here mention, that it has been objected against the Canadian Assembly that their animosity towards the Council is of recent date, and that the time was when they desired no such constitutional change as that which they now demand. This objection appears to us to be frivolous in the extreme. It is a

* The opposition of the Assembly has not been without its effect. The shares of the Company are at $8\text{l}.$, the sum paid in being $18\text{l}.$

distinguishing feature of opinion, that it is progressive. This is especially conspicuous in England, where new demands for political changes, previously unheard of, spring up every day. A few years before the passing of the Reform Act, the disfranchisement of a few rotten boroughs, and the enfranchisement of a few large towns, would have satisfied the people for a time; now we are looking for most extensive reforms.

In the same way, it is quite true that the Canadians would have been satisfied, in 1836, with a reform which they would regard with scorn in 1837; and in 1837, with one which will fall far short of their advanced conceptions in 1838. In short, it seems that ministerial concession to revolted or discontented colonies is perpetually a little too late. The colonial minister of 1777-8 conceded the famous declaratory act; but the "States" were no longer within the reach of a British act of parliament; they had been coerced,—they had been forced into independence.

In 1828, the Canadians hailed the recommendations of the Committee on the Civil Government of Canada as "an imperishable monument." They did so, because one of the recommendations was to introduce liberal and independent men into the Council by means of a creation. Some few were introduced; but what could they do among a host of enemies? They did nothing, except to prove that the "recommendations" had never been attended to, or that if they had been, the scheme, as a means of producing good government, had proved itself utterly abortive. And it is this experience which has helped them to the conviction that the council must be rendered elective.

Having come to this determination, let us see what method the Canadian Assembly has adopted to bring about this reform. They have taken the advice of Lord (then Mr.) Stanley; advice gravely addressed to them in 1829, when that right honourable person was a Whig out of place. They have petitioned the Imperial Parliament and the Crown, and have resorted to the constitutional practice of stopping supplies in order to enforce their demand for reform.

In 1834, whilst their demand for an elective council was before a committee of the House of Commons, and whilst supplies continued thus stopped, came Mr. Rice into office. At that time two delegates from Canada, the Hon. D. B. Viger and Mr. Morin, M.P.P., were in England. A meeting took place between those gentlemen, Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Rice, on which occasion Mr. Rice declared that he would do nothing to prejudice their case, or to interfere with the position which

the Assembly had taken up. What was Mr. Rice's subsequent conduct? The reader will scarcely believe, that only seven days after this promise, Mr. Rice penned a dispatch authorizing the Governor Aylmer to pay the officials to the extent of 31,000*l.*, out of the military chest; thus completely breaking down the position which the Assembly had assumed. Surely the inconvenience of the non-payment of the officials, however severe as individual hardship, was not a sufficient ground for interfering with the great principle which was at issue.

During the short administration of the Tories, Mr. Roebuck presented the second petition of the Assembly to the House of Commons, when Sir Robert Peel announced the notable expedient of a Royal Commissioner to be sent to Canada to enquire into grievances which had been already declared to exist by an Assembly (the highest authority which a country can possess) representing at least *eleven-twelfths* of the whole people. This was merely an expedient to create delay, and for all other purposes was absurd in a high degree. The new government, however, contrived to make it more so, by extending the commission from one to three persons, Lord Gosford, Sir Charles Grey, and Sir George Gipps, who reached Canada in the autumn of 1835, and remained in office till the beginning of the present year; Lord Gosford still remaining as governor.

What they did there may be learned in minute detail from Mr. Roebuck's pamphlet, quoted fourth at the head of this article, and also from their own reports. We can only find room for a general outline of the most important occurrences.

Before the commissioners left England, Mr. Roebuck, as agent to the Assembly, laid before Lord Glenelg a statement of the demands of that house. This statement was afterwards printed in Canada, by order, we believe, of the House of Assembly, and afterwards reprinted by Mr. Roebuck in the appendix to his pamphlet. The necessity for a radical change in the constitution of the Legislative Council is insisted upon; and Lord Glenelg is warned of the evil consequences of a denial of justice.

Mr. Roebuck's next step was to ask for a copy of the Instructions; but Sir Geo. Grey excused himself from laying them before parliament, on the plea that *respect for the Canadian Assembly* demanded that the instructions should first be communicated to that body. This was so plausible a reason that the demand could not be further pressed.

When the commissioners reached Canada, their conversation was wholly of "concession," and "liberality," and "reform." They were the "nominees of a reforming ministry." Lord

Gosford was "the friend of O'Connell." He was "convinced that his instructions would give satisfaction." The effect of this was that he met the Assembly enjoying its good will. A tolerably sure test of this is, that at that time he had the hatred of the colonial tories, whose papers abused him roundly; thus showing that members of the Assembly were not the only persons deceived by his professions.

When the meeting of the legislature took place, however, to the astonishment of the Canadians, no instructions were brought to light. The Governor's speech, though somewhat longer than common, dealt only in vague generalities, and was studiously silent on all the topics most interesting to the Canadians.

Disappointment and distrust were the necessary consequences of this unfortunate opening of the intercourse between the Assembly and the Executive, under the administration of Lord Gosford. As for the Commission, the Assembly never in any way condescended to notice it. From the Journals of the Assembly, it is very doubtful whether the future historian would be able to collect that such a commission has existed,—unless, indeed, Lord Gosford may charitably have rescued it from utter oblivion, by naming it in one of his Messages.

Finding, that notwithstanding the promise of Sir George Grey, the instructions had not been laid before the Assembly, Mr. Roebuck, on the 16th of Feb. 1836, again asked the Colonial Under-Secretary to produce them: but he again excused himself, on the ground that—"inasmuch as there was now a fair prospect of adjusting the differences between this country and Canada, he thought that while negotiations were pending, it would be extremely injudicious and might lead to great inconvenience, if the instructions given to the commissioners were to be made public." He also said, "that the House of Assembly had shown they were actuated by the most honest and ardent wish to promote the interests of the Colony." This is not very wonderful, seeing that they are "the Colony," and cannot have an interest against it. Upon this appeal, Mr. Roebuck, of course, withdrew his motion.

But the real nature of all these excuses, and the extraordinary conduct of the Colonial Office, were doomed to receive a complete exposure at the hands of one of its own creatures. Sir Francis Head had just succeeded Sir John Colborne as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada,—and on meeting the Assembly of Upper Canada, he had accompanied his own Message with extracts from the instructions of Lord Glenelg to the Lower Canada Commissioners; and this, notwithstanding the "great inconvenience," the "extreme injudiciousness" of making the

instructions public, and the propriety of first laying them before the Lower Canada Assembly. After this "untoward" blunder, Lord Gosford was compelled, with an ill grace, to communicate a full copy of his instructions to the Assembly.

The object of Lord Gosford had evidently been to get a vote of supplies from the Assembly; and to affect this, every effort was made to generate an impression that the Imperial Government contemplated some great and important concession, and thus to lull the generally watchful suspicions of the Assembly: but his scheme failed. The exhibition of the non-conciliatory instructions shut the door to any thing like confidence on the part of the Assembly towards the Governor, and all arrears which otherwise might possibly have been voted, were immediately refused. And here the Assembly exhibited one of those remarkable acts of forbearance which we sometimes witness on the part of popularly constituted bodies. In order to prevent undue embarrassments to the executive, *they voted supplies for six months;* but so short an allowance was not relished by the official party, and the bill was accordingly rejected by *their* house—the Legislative Council. Now was exhibited the vindictive and malignant character of that house, and the mischievousness of clothing such a body with such enormous power. They henceforward rejected nearly every bill that was sent to them, including the Elementary School Bill, to which we have already alluded. On the rejection of the School Bill, Mr. Roebuck remarks :—

"The party of the Legislative Council are usually uncommonly pathetic in their lamentations over the ignorance of the Canadian population. The true worth of their hypocritical whining is here made manifest. They talk of ignorance and deprecate it, so long as such talk forwards or seems to forward their paltry purposes. They willingly do all they can to foster and continue ignorance, the moment that by so doing the same vile ends may be served."—*Existing Difficulties*, p. 39.

The last bill passed by the Assembly was for the purpose of embodying their demand for an elective council in a shape convenient for public discussion, and distinct and unequivocal reference. Moreover, it served to point out to ministers a convenient mode of settling the disputes without the necessity of imperial legislature, namely, by what is called in this country *a creation*. Lord Gosford might have been furnished with a sufficient number of blank *mandamuses* to enable him to call to the Council a sufficient number of men favourable to the elective principle, to carry the Assembly's bill. This done, the other reforms which the people desire, and for the sake of which, and for the perpetuation of good government, an Elective

Council is deemed necessary, might be carried through both houses without any disturbance of existing forms. Even the repeal of those Imperial Statutes, which have given so much disgust to the Canadians—the Tenures Act, and the British America Land Company's Act of Incorporation, might be effected by the only body really capable of adjusting the matter with the least possible disturbance of existing interests.

It has been objected, that a Provincial Legislature is incompetent to repeal or amend an Act of the Imperial Parliament. To this it may be answered, that what has once been done may be done again. The right of the Canadian Legislatures to amend an Imperial Act, has been acted upon, and formally recognized by the assent of the King. The present Assembly of Lower Canada sits and exercises its functions in virtue of a provincial act—a species of Canadian Reform Bill—amending, in an essential particular (namely, the division of the province, and distribution and number of representatives), the Canadian Constitutional Act itself. The other Acts proposed to be dealt with by the local legislature should never have been passed. In giving a constitution to each of the provinces, all further interference ought to have been abandoned. Wherever interference takes place, it is nearly certain that it will be at the instance of an intriguing minority; hence discontent must be the result. To permit the Canadian Assemblies, therefore, to repeal or amend all Imperial Statutes relating to the local affairs of the provinces, passed since the date of the Constitutional Act (1791) would merely be the undoing of evil. If any part of an Imperial Statute had worked well, we may be quite sure that it would be retained.

We now come to the last Act of the Assembly, namely, their Address to the King and the two Houses of Parliament, carried on the 26th of February, 1836, by a majority of fifty-five to seven. This Address contains a reiteration of their demands;—for

1. An Elective Council:
2. The Repeal of the obnoxious Acts already alluded to:
3. Complete control over Revenue and Expenditure:
4. Complete control over the Waste Lands.

But the feature most worthy of remark in this address, is the solemn declaration of the Assembly, that redress of the grievances must precede a vote of supplies.

"We wish for a government," says the address, "which shall assure us freedom and security; the unrestricted effect of Your Majesty's declarations can alone confer it upon us; and it will be when we possess it, and can entertain a hope of the removal of the grievances and abuses

we complain of, that we can properly consider the means of giving effect to Your Majesty's wishes with regard to an appropriation of a permanent nature."—*Petition, Feb. 1836.*

We now draw towards the close of the history of the question within the Colony. Lord Glenelg once more refused the just demands of the Assembly : on the 22nd of September last, the Legislature was called together to enable the governor to communicate that refusal,—when the Assembly voted an address to his Excellency, repeating the decision they had come to at the previous Session, namely, that the redress of grievances must precede a vote of supplies. This address was carried through its various stages by varying majorities averaging fifty-six to seven ; and the House was dismissed after a Session of less than three weeks. They have not been called together since.

Turn we now to the state of the question in the mother country.

Hither the discussion was shifted by the publication of the Reports of the Commissioners, which were delivered to members towards the latter end of February. To give any thing like an analysis of so voluminous a document, or rather set of documents, would be quite impossible with our limited space, even were it desirable ; we shall therefore merely state, in general terms, that the Reports signed by all the Commissioners do two things,—*first*, they decide against all the demands of the Assembly, against the clearest evidence of their just nature, and even against their own admissions ; and *second*, they take the trouble to propose schemes which have been repeatedly proposed to the Assembly and have been invariably rejected by that body—we allude especially to Lord Ripon's plan to obtain from the Assembly a permanent civil list, without conceding the condition demanded by the Assembly, namely, the perfect responsibility of the parties included in the list, with the exception of the governor. This plan having been rejected by the Assembly with something like indignation,—it is certainly rather absurd to incur the enormous expense of the Commission merely to reiterate that proposal. Let the reader examine the reports through and through, and he will find the general result correspond precisely with the above character.

But there is one of the Commissioners who goes a point further and recommends something new ; but, as he could not get his colleagues to agree with him, he has been compelled to set his single name against his own absurd crotchetts. This one is Sir Charles Edward Grey, whose proposals are in the ultra-dominant spirit of Orangeism, namely, the wholesale nullification of the Assembly ; the rendering of the Executive, that is

the public servants, wholly independent and irresponsible; in short, the complete submission of the majority to the sway of the minority.

One of the plans for rendering the many subservient to the few—for overwhelming the influence of the people in the election of representatives, is to be found at page seventeen of the general Report. It is this: he proposes to allow each elector to have *one vote only*, although the number of representatives to be chosen might be two, three, four, or even five. The result of this would be, that the majority, anxious to secure the return of the best man, would probably vote for him alone; or, at all events, their votes would probably fall on two at the utmost. The minority would then step in, and with a few dozen votes, would return their member or members. In this way there would probably be a majority of the Assembly elected by a miserable minority of the people. It would have the same effect as the exclusion of Catholics from the House of Commons had on Ireland. It would effectually deliver the people to the oppression of a minority, always tyrannical and cruel in proportion to its insignificance in point of numbers.

Now there is something both cowardly and dishonest in all these proposals, which have for their object the indirect destruction of a body which it is dangerous to attack openly. The existence of a democratic Chamber is either good or bad. The Canadians having had near half a century's experience in its working, think it good. We think it good also,—but we certainly should not feel disposed to quarrel with any man for thinking it bad. What we object to is pretending to laud the institution, and yet seeking at the same time to destroy it. If Sir Charles Grey think a democratic branch a bad thing, let him say so at once, and openly and honestly propose its annihilation. After the avowal of such opinions, our readers will not be surprised to find that Sir Charles Grey—the government nominee in Canada—is an avowed Tory candidate in the approaching election.

We have alluded to the admissions of the Commissioners in favour of the case of the Assembly and people of Canada. They speak of the necessity of reform,—they even admit the propriety of making the Council elective at some future day,—they admit the defective character of the present Council, and that it has not performed the high duties entrusted to it with justice and impartiality, “but still they cannot advise the experiment (of the elective principle) now.” But the most important admission, and that which tells the most completely in favour of the views of the popular party, is where the Commissioners show that the

disputes have nothing to do with the question of origin, as had been often alleged, but have reference solely to "popular rights."

The general statement of the Canadian official party was, that the quarrel was one in which the French majority were arranged on one side, and the British population, unfortunately a minority, on the other—the former numbering, according to the statement of the official party, 450,000, and the latter 150,000. Now, it so happens that several of the "British" constituencies return members who agree with the views of the majority; and an accurate calculation of the respective numbers of the opposite parties of the Assembly and population represented, makes the minority to consist of only 9 or 10 members out of 90, and under 50,000 people out of the above 150,000, though the members of origin other than French (chiefly British) in the Assembly, number 24 or 25. Thus, if the question of elective institutions were decided by the votes of those of British origin alone, it would be carried in the affirmative.

This popular view of the character of the dispute, the Commissioners confirm:—

"In the course of these protracted disputes, too," say the commissioners, "the Assembly, composed almost wholly of French Canadians, have constantly figured as the assertors of popular rights, and as the advocates of liberal institutions; whilst the Council in which the English interest prevails have, on the other hand, been made to appear as the supporters of arbitrary power and of antiquated political doctrines; and to this alone we are persuaded the fact is to be attributed—that the majority of settlers from the United States have hitherto sided with the French rather than the English party. The representatives of the County of Stanstend and Missisquoi, have not been sent to Parliament to defend the feudal system, to protect the French language, or to oppose a system of registration—they have been sent to lend their aid to the assertors of popular rights, and to oppose a government by which, in their opinion, settlers from the United States have been neglected or regarded with disfavour."

And, in further condemnation of the Council, the Commissioners add:—

"Even during our own residence in the province, we have seen the Council continue to act in the same spirit, and discard what we believe would have proved a most salutary measure in a manner which can hardly be taken otherwise than to indicate at least a coldness towards the establishment of customs calculated to exercise the judgment, and promote the general improvement of the people: we allude to a Bill for enabling parishes and townships to elect local officers, and assess themselves for local purposes, which measure, though not absolutely rejected, was suffered to fail in a way that showed no friendliness to the principle."

We now come to the discussions in the House of Commons. On the 6th of March, Lord John Russell, taking the matter out of the hands of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Sir George Grey, who throughout appears to have taken no very prominent part in the proceedings, brought forward ten resolutions, the objects of which were to make declarations against the reforms which the Canadians demand, and to warrant the seizure of the Colonial revenues in violation of the Constitutional Act, and therewith to pay the public servants of the colony, and thereby render them wholly irresponsible. It would be idle to waste our time with a discussion about legal rights, when Lord John's resolutions are wholly a measure of *might*. We cannot, however, avoid expressing our surprise, that Englishmen did not take alarm at the eighth resolution, which warranted the seizure of the money, and the consequent nullification of the popular branch of the Legislature. That resolution appears to us to involve principles which, if extended to the mother country, would be wholly subversive of the constitution. We confess that it is a matter of surprise and regret, that of the liberal party only sixty members could be found to stand forth in defence—not simply of Canadian liberty—but of an important principle of universal application. The leading Irish members, we rejoice to add, nobly did their duty.

All that men could do in opposition to such an overwhelming force of numbers, was done by the small but energetic minority. No one can read the proceedings without perceiving how completely the talent, and especially reasoning, was on the side of the friends of good government. Considering the numbers, never perhaps was a question better fought in that House; and we have no hesitation in saying, that, as a political party, the Radicals acquired consistency and strength by the debate. After two nights' work in March, the debate was postponed, for the printing of the evidence delivered before a Committee of the House in 1834. This pushed the question past the Easter adjournment, and the debate was not again renewed till the 14th of April. On that night, Mr. Roebuck came down to the House with a proposal, which appears to us calculated to allay all discontent in the colony, by establishing such a system of government as would leave the Canadians nothing to desire, and to perpetuate the Colonial connexion by the generation of contentment and satisfaction in the colony. We shall now endeavour to explain this plan in an abridged form, suited rather to our limited space than to the subject itself, which certainly deserves to be treated at greater length. Mr. Roebuck's proposal comprised the following heads:—

1. To abolish the present Legislative Council, which had been condemned at all hands—by the colonists themselves, by the commissioners, by the speakers in debate, and by Lord John's own resolution.
2. To erect an Executive Council, removable by the Governor, of twelve persons, of whom the Attorney and Solicitor-General should be two.

The functions of this body we must describe in the language of Mr. Roebuck:—

“The functions of this council, as respects legislation, I can best describe by following a measure through its several stages. First, a bill is brought in and passed by the Assembly. It is then sent to the Governor in Council. It may then be amended or not. If not amended, it is then forwarded at once to the Governor for his assent or veto; but if amended it is sent back to the Assembly. They either adopt or reject the amendments; and in either case the bill is now to be sent at once to the Governor, and not to the Governor in Council. And on the Governor rests the ultimate responsibility of accepting or rejecting the measure. I must here guard myself against misconception. It must be carefully borne in mind, that no power of rejecting any measure is given to the Governor in Council. That body can only amend—it cannot reject. This is a matter of vital importance—so important that if such a Council should be created, and the power of rejection given to it—no satisfaction could be given to the people, who are now discontented: the grand object of my plan is to concentrate responsibility, and to bring it to bear upon known individuals. The Governor is he whom we seek to render circumspect and careful, and no subterfuge can be admitted by which this object can be protracted.”

To those who are acquainted with the character of Mr. Roebuck's highly cultivated mind—and what intelligent newspaper reader is not?—it is unnecessary to say that the honourable gentleman supported his plan by the most luminous and unanswerable reasoning. There is no point left untouched—no objection left unanswered—and the reader will rise from the perusal of the speech, impressed with a conviction, that, in neglecting the suggestion, ministers have lost an opportunity for the pacification of the Canadians, which may never again be offered to them.

Nothing, indeed, in the shape of an answer was attempted. Ministers seemed to admit that the plan was good. Even the ministerial organ—the *Morning Chronicle*—after condemning Mr. Roebuck's indiscretion (in what did not appear) winds up with a short paragraph, stating that the plan was unobjectionable. Why not adopt it then? Ah! why not, indeed? That is a question which would really puzzle a conjurer.

Another, and not an unimportant, part of Mr. Roebuck's plan, was an extension of that of Lord John Russell—we mean that in which a sort of congress of delegates is proposed to be assembled at Montreal. Lord John proposed a committee of the two legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada to meet at Montreal, to take cognizance of disputes between the two provinces. This would have been utterly useless, as the disputes in question (about the division of the revenue) never amounted to an inconvenient pitch, and were always satisfactorily settled by the commissioners named by both provinces. Mr. Roebuck's congress, however, would have been of a more useful character.

"I propose," said Mr. Roebuck in his speech of the 14th of April already quoted, "I propose that a general Assembly should sit, I care not where, but say at Montreal, composed of delegates chosen by the Assemblies of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward's Island. Each province should send five delegates, and the general Assembly should represent the various colonies thus electing them. The term for which the Assembly should exist should be four years. The most difficult matter connected with this body would be the describing, and accurately defining, its separate powers and duties.* Those ought to relate to two distinct subjects. This general Assembly ought to be both a judicial and a legislative body. The judicial functions ought to be two-fold—1st. It ought to constitute a tribunal before which the judges might be impeached, and out of the Assembly a court composed of not more than three members might be constituted. Secondly, a Court of Appeal, to perform all the judicial functions now exercised by our Privy Council. It would be difficult to describe accurately and clearly the precise extent of these judicial powers, and the manner in which they were to be exercised. A law of impeachment would be required, together with a code of procedure; but no difficulties of any moment will here obstruct the path of the legislature. If this tribunal were created for the trial of the delinquent judges, no difficulty would arise in granting them salaries for a term of years."

This would settle all the difficulties about the responsibility of the judges (now holding office during pleasure!), impeachments, and a permanent civil list. It would erect our colonial government on something like a solid and permanent basis; and yet the whole scheme, praised by nearly all parties, was rejected on a mere quibble. The opposition of both sides of the House resolved itself to this—"the Member of Bath has made what seems to be a wise proposal; but we do not know that the

* In the Free States of America, no difficulty arises from this source. The rule is, that powers not delegated to the Congress, or the general Government, are retained by the several sovereign states.

Assembly would acknowledge it; therefore, let us reject this measure of pacification, and pursue our own coercive measures." Accordingly, the House did the will of the ministry, and carried the fifth resolution.

On the 21st, Mr. Leader put the House into something very like a dilemma. In an excellent and argumentative speech, the Honourable Member said this:—"You say, my friend Mr. Roebuck's plan is good, but that you have no assurance that it will please the Assembly of Lower Canada. Well, then, wait six months, in order to ascertain their views." But this would not suit Lord John and his anti-Canadian supporters. Like Sterne and the poor mendicant Franciscan, they had *predetermined* the case. They accordingly rejected Mr. Leader's proposal, and that very night affirmed all the resolutions. And there the matter now rests (we write on the 22nd May) on this side of the Atlantic.

We must now carry our readers once more to Canada. The delay which has occurred in getting these coercive resolutions through the two Houses of Parliament, has enabled us to hear of their reception in Lower Canada. We have in our possession Montreal newspapers to the 24th of April, in which the debate of the 6th and 8th of March is published. These papers unfold a portion of the plan which the Canadians have at once determined to adopt, to meet, and, as far as lies in their power, to counteract, the coercive measures of the British Government. This plan is precisely what Mr. Roebuck predicted in his reply, on the 14th of April. It is similar to that which the old colonies adopted under similar circumstances; it is comprised in two words—*passive resistance*!

A letter has been published in the *True Sun* newspaper, explaining the course which the Canadians intend to pursue; and as that letter is from a source worthy of credit, we shall here transcribe it:

" Extract of a letter dated Montreal, April 23, 1837 :—

" Lord John Russell's coercive resolutions have aroused universal indignation in this province, and the result is a very general determination to consume nothing which contributes to the revenues, which your infamous minister proposes to seize.

" For rum and brandy, which now contribute so largely to the revenue, we shall substitute whisky and beer. Tea we shall replace by coffee, made of barley, beans, and crust of bread, which our physicians declare to be more wholesome than tea, which our excellent wives now patriotically discover to be weakening to the nerves and to the stomach,

" The sugar of the maple will alone enter into the house of the

patriots ; and Providence, as if intentionally, has this year sent us a most abundant crop.

"The tobacco of this province, and of Upper Canada, is fortunately of excellent quality ; not a pound of that which has passed the custom-house will a single Canadian use.

"Our country traders (*Marchands,*) have sworn the destruction of this same infamous custom-house, the fruitful source of our woes, and the succour of our persecutors. The smuggler—the hearty contemner of the line 45 degrees,* we shall henceforward regard as our saviour, and encourage by every means in our power. Recently we learn that there has been illicit importation of tea and tobacco, to a considerable extent, on the Chamby river—with this importation the duty-paid articles cannot compete, they will remain like drugs in the importers' stores. Instead of being regarded with an evil eye, the smuggler will now be regarded as the best friend to his country.

"Home-made cloths and other fabrics (*étoffe du pays*) of all kinds, will now be our only wear ; to be seen in a coat of English cloth will be deemed disgraceful, and I am assured that throughout the country our patriotic women are busily employed manufacturing for our exigencies.

"We are determined to punish our enemies here, and their dupes on your side, at the sole points where they are vulnerable—*the purse.*

"In addition to this, there exists throughout the country a very powerful determination to refuse the notes of the Montreal and City Banks, and to encourage those of the People's bank, for the simple reason, that the two first are the strongholds of the party of our enemies. This is no idle threat, for on a former occasion an impression was made on the circulation of those banks to the extent of one-sixth in a few days : the hostility of the people to those banks will now be perpetual.

"We are quite sensible that this cannot be done without some suffering to ourselves ; but we have calmly made the calculation, and we have determined to make the sacrifice, in order to paralyze our enemies. This course has already succeeded once in America, and it will succeed again. Farewell. When next I address you, I may perhaps have more extraordinary things to record. I send you herewith some papers : our small differences we have forgotten—the *Canadian* and the *Vindicator*—the Moderates and the Ultras, are at peace, working in amicable emulation against a common enemy. Again, farewell !"

Of the revenue of Lower Canada, a large portion is derived from the duty on spirits ; 1s. per gallon is collected on about 1,000,000 gallons of rum, and 1s. 6d. per gallon on 250,000 gallons of gin and brandy. A substitution of whisky and beer for these, would nearly destroy the revenue from this fruitful source. The Tory party in Canada make it a distinct charge against the people of that colony, that they are servile in their

* The boundary line between Canada and the States.

obedience to their leaders ; and as some partial experiments of the kind have succeeded, we cannot doubt but that "passive resistance" in Canada, will be still more successful than it was in the old colonies (now the United States) in 1776.

How long the Canadians will be content with a resistance merely passive, it would be rash to say. A popular commotion generally happens from some apparently trifling circumstance, acting upon a people predisposed to a rupture with their rulers. The accidental collection of a crowd in a particular spot; the thoughtless act of an idle boy; the throwing of a stone or the firing of a pop-gun, are any one of them sufficient, under certain circumstances, to cause the standard of revolt to be raised. The events that commonly happen at a Canadian city election would, we are quite convinced, raise the banner of independence, even without a massacre of the people, similar to that which took place on the 21st May 1832, called by the Canadians *le jour du sang*. Of this we feel quite certain, that the people are predisposed to receive any accidental impulse towards independence. Their position, too, is in every respect favourable to such a movement. They have no enemy on their frontier, as the United Colonies had; neither have they a foe in their very bosom, in the shape of an enslaved labouring population. The provocation they have just received, may be considered by the more ardent of the Canadians to justify the employment of force, to emancipate themselves from the thraldrom of the Colonial office. What, then, is wanting to induce an attempt at independence ? We fear but one thing—opportunity, a favourable opportunity ; and that, as we have already said, the merest accident may afford.

On the receipt of the resolutions in Upper Canada, a meeting of the great Political Union of that province was convened, and a series of resolutions, five in number, were passed, condemning the course pursued by ministers, and expressive of sympathy with the Lower Province. The whole are too long for our space ; but we cannot refrain from copying the two last, as evidence that the people of Upper Canada are not what the Tories would wish them.

" 4. That we owe a deep and lasting debt of gratitude to Sir William Molesworth, Bart. Jos. Hume, J. A. Roebuck, Daniel O'Connell, J. T. Leader, Esqrs., and the other talented and uncompromising defenders of our rights and liberties in the British House of Commons, during the important debate on the affairs of the Canadas, on the 6th and 8th of March last."

" 5. That this Union deeply sympathize with the provinces of Lower

Canada and Nova Scotia in their present difficulties, and that they await with deep anxiety the action that may be had thereon, by those patriotic and long-suffering people."

We cannot close this article without stating, that the other British North American Colonies are also at issue with their respective local oligarchies. Nova Scotia has just passed a series of resolutions, the last of which is in favour of an elective council. Newfoundland, in its demands for reform, makes an elective council a *sine quâ non*. Prince Edward's Island has also pronounced herself in favour of the same wholesome measure. All these colonies have serious differences with the ruling power. In New Brunswick, we are not aware that the elective council question has been broached; but of this we are quite certain, that New Brunswick is highly discontented, and has lately succeeded in driving an obnoxious governor out of the colony.

Here, then, we have *a million and a half of people*, ripe for revolt—a number not very far short of the population of the old colonies, when "the troubles commenced," and yet our ministry, with Tory obstinacy, seems determined to bring about a similar result.

Separation is perhaps a contingency inseparable from colonies; but there is no reason why it should be violent. A wise minister would establish such a colonial government, as would insensibly lead to independence. For this sacred purpose what so obvious as institutions purely elective? Not that independence would so soon occur, as in consequence of a system of coercion. The duration of the colonial connexion will be in the inverse ratio of imperial interference, and it might be almost perpetual, by leaving the colonists entirely to themselves.

We now close this somewhat long article, by declaring our solemn opinion, that unless ministers entirely abandon their system of colonial policy, they will one day be surprised by the apparition of *LE JEUNE CANADA.**

ART. V.—Londres : Voyage contenant la Description de cette Capitale, avec les Mœurs, &c. &c., par Albert Montémont. Paris.

THE remarks of foreigners on our institutions are often more instructive than the opinions of native critics: habit renders the latter less liable to observe general defects, while the

* See Postscript at the end of this Number.

uninitiated eye of the former immediately detects a fault. The generality of tourists are so superficial in their knowledge of the countries they describe, that we cannot rely implicitly either on the accuracy of their statements or the infallibility of their judgment; but when there are points on which they are all agreed, it must be confessed that the concurrence of opinion adds considerably to its force. If, moreover, to the written observations of individual travellers, is added the verbal testimony of foreigners in general, we must allow that there is some foundation for their remarks, whether they contain praise or blame; and as the former is frequently bestowed, we ought not to complain when the latter is occasionally applied. Strangers do not deny the wealth of England, the importance of her colonial possessions, the extent of her trade, the industry of her manufactories, and the general activity of all her people: these are sources of greatness which are averred, proved, and uncontested; but there are other claims to rank as the first of civilized nations, which, though boldly put forth by patriotic eulogists at home, are not readily admitted by unprejudiced observers abroad.

In the work before us we find the following rather extraordinary sentence: — Speaking of London, the writer describes the buildings as a “mensonge d'architecture, comme la constitution est un mensonge de liberté, la religion une simagrée de piété, et les moeurs un mensonge de pruderie.”

On the architecture of a town depends the first impression a stranger receives on his arrival; and to the inferiority of London in this respect we attribute the disappointment of our traveller. The foreigner who has passed by the Arc de l'Etoile smiles at the arch at Hyde Park Corner; accustomed to the Tuilleries, he is astonished on his first visit to Buckingham Palace; and when asking for the Louvre of London, can scarcely believe the cicerone who conducts him to the National Gallery. It is the size, not the beauty, of London, which strikes the foreigner; he admires the width of the streets, but looks with contempt on the houses which compose them—small black buildings, as our author describes them, “made of wood and brick, without height or beauty—temporary abodes, which, like tents, are destined to endure no longer than the lease on which they are built.” Paint and plaster have done their best to conceal the poverty of the materials, but neither paint nor plaster can correct the proportions, or give elevation to the structure. With the exception of Apsley and Burlington, Northumberland and Lansdowne houses, the stranger looks in vain for the nobleman's palace, or wealthy commoner's hotel. Two-story houses, with small windows and narrow doorways, are the town-residences of

the rich and haughty aristocracy of England. The public buildings are scarcely more remarkable for their elegance than the private houses. Their number is very small considering the size of London ; and the close neighbourhood of other buildings prevents the little merit they have from being sufficiently remarked. The bridges alone stand pre-eminent in the world for beauty and solidity. The broad Thames is shut out from the view, and the irregular wharfs and warehouses on its banks evince neither taste nor plan in their erection. The public offices are not distinguished for their splendour, and when we compare the Admiralty in London with the Admiralty in Petersburg, or the treasury of the former city with the new Hotel erecting on the Quai d'Orsay at Paris, we must confess that the government houses in Whitehall and Downing-street are not in proportion with the importance of the business which is transacted in them. The late houses of Parliament caused respect in the English antiquarian, but only disappointment to the foreign traveller. The Royal residences are pitiful, and, with the exception of Somerset House, not a building in London deserves the title of Palace. Some authors attribute the deficiency in regal grandeur to the limited nature of the monarchy, and others trace the unclassic character of the public buildings to the commercial disposition of the people. Neither is the real case, for millions have been voted for royal palaces, and the abortive attempts at architectural ornament prove that not the wish but the genius is wanting. Venice and Genoa are cities of palaces, but both Venice and Genoa were raised by a mercantile and commercial people. A third and still more ridiculous excuse has been grounded on the cold and ungenial nature of our northern latitude. This plea may be justly urged as far as statuary is concerned, for the delicate work of the chisel, and the material it requires, may be unable to resist the corrosive damps of our variable and humid climate; but neither the coldness of the climate, nor the commercial spirit of the nation, can be admitted as excuses for the bad taste of our buildings. The East India Company of merchants have raised in Calcutta, perhaps, the noblest building in the British dominions; and there is no reason why the banks of the Thames should not be lined with palaces, as well as the still colder shores of the Neva. Other causes than these must exist; and, perhaps, we shall be nearer the truth if we attribute the mean appearance of our town houses to the general prevalence of isolated domicile. The English system of one family occupying an entire house may possibly have increased the cleanliness, but certainly has destroyed the grandeur of our domestic buildings. The number of houses in the

chief towns, and the number of families who inhabit them, are given in returns made to Parliament, pursuant to an Act for taking an account of the British population. According to these tables, there are in London 171 families to a hundred houses; in Liverpool, 131; Manchester, 116; and Birmingham, 105; whereas in Paris there are at least five hundred families to a hundred houses. According to another statement, there are ten persons to one house in London, twenty to one in Paris, and more than forty-seven to one in Petersburg.* The consequence of this difference is evident: the size of the habitation is in proportion to the number of individuals who occupy it; and the houses in Paris are superior to the houses in London, inasmuch as the expenses and incomes of twenty persons are greater than the expenses and incomes of ten. Want of space, and density of population, cannot be urged as objections to the adoption of the Continental system, for supposing one Paris house to occupy the same ground as three London houses, the three London houses would be tenanted by three families, while the one Paris house, being three stories high, would be occupied by the same number of families. The advantages, as far as regards architectural grandeur, are too evident to need further comment; but there is another consideration which ought to be duly weighed before we give either system the preference—which of the two customs contributes most to the health and convenience of the inhabitants. The above-mentioned returns state the proportion of deaths to the population; and, though the results are not uniform, a general inference has been drawn, that mortality decreases in proportion to the increasing isolation of domicile. This conclusion is perfectly just, as far as regards England; but in France, and other continental countries, where a different system exists, and several families inhabit the same house, the average of mortality is no higher than in the most favoured towns of England. The disparity of the buildings in England and the Continent reconciles the apparent inconsistency of the different results; and if, instead of the half-ventilated cottages which compose our streets, the lofty buildings of Paris or Genoa, Florence or Petersburg, were substituted, many families might lodge beneath the same roof without detriment to their health, or inconvenience to one another.

Another cause of the superiority of Paris to London in

	Inhabitants.	Houses.
* London - - -	1,800,000	180,000
Paris - - -	900,000	45,000
Petersburg - - -	450,000	9,000

—Albert Montémont.

architectural beauty, may exist in the discretionary powers of the Directeur-Général de Ponts et Chaussées, and the obligatory inspection of the Grande Voirie. Government in France has the sole direction of various works, which in England are left to the judgment of independent companies. The Minister of the Interior, and under him, the Corps Royal de Ponts et Chaussées, are intrusted with the design and execution of every public building; a power and responsibility greater than those possessed or required from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. Temporary buildings answer the purposes of individual speculators, and the rapidity with which they are raised in England has caused the French tourist to remark that the English know how to build towns but not houses.

After the architectural appearance of a town, the next subject which attracts the attention of a stranger is the character of the public amusements of the people. The traveller, if a Frenchman, must find in this respect a melancholy contrast between the British metropolis and his own gay and amusing capital. Instead of the well-regulated theatres and innumerable concerts which occupy the leisure hours and refine the habits of the Parisians, he observes in London puritanical affectation, or the most unsophisticated depravity. The dead and cheerless Sunday, the absence of song and dance, the suspension of all innocent amusements, make him regret the moody and unsocial character of the English, or, like the author before us, consider their religion *une simagrée de piété*, and their customs *un mensonge de pruderie*.*

The heavenly dispensation which makes light the burden of the oppressed, and cheers up the gloomy abode of misery, is in direct opposition to the spirit which dictated the Sabbath Bill, and attempted to deprive poverty of its only consolation. Heaven designed the seventh day as a day of rest, and not of privation—a day of prayer and rejoicing, not of gloomy meditation and unsocial seclusion. Fanatics, however, are found in the senate of the nation, who have attempted to pervert the generous commandment of God into a mandate of austerity. Their misguided zeal would fill to the very brim the bitter cup which misery holds to the lips of its victims. Let us reflect for a moment on the results which would accrue from the pharisaical observance of the Jewish Sabbath, and, if our religion is not shocked, our humanity at least will be moved.

For six days the poor man toils; his body is bent with labour, and his mind exhausted by constant application. The seventh

* The statute-book has been disgraced, since the reign of George the Second, with restrictions on the most innocent and least expensive amusements of the people.

day comes, but its coming only excludes him from his gloomy workshop to confine him in his still more gloomy habitation. Relaxation is denied him, amusement forbidden him. He may not leave the unwholesome atmosphere of a narrow street and seek the open fields. Public places are shut and public conveyances stopped on that day. To such a wretch so disheartened in spirit, so debilitated in frame, what relaxation can the Sabbath of these would-be ascetics bring?

This is the bright side of the picture; the reverse, unfortunately, presents the more general portraits. Many men are deprived of the comfort of a home, and how are they to occupy the time left weekly vacant on their hands? "With few exceptions," Dr. Kay remarks, "they spend Sunday in supine sloth and listless inactivity." Without incentives, they will not seek healthful recreation, and folly alone can expect them to spend the whole of the day in solemn meditation. Adam Smith has justly remarked that "nature requires to be relieved by some indulgence, sometimes of ease only, but sometimes too of dissipation and diversion. If this call is not complied with, the consequences are dangerous, and often fatal, and such as always bring on the peculiar infirmity of the trade." Spite of this warning, the Sabbath legislators wish to encrease the already gloomy character of the English Sunday. With other ministrations charitable religion heals her erring and distempered children. Not in solitude and gloomy meditation, but amid the joyous scenes and sunny hues of life, the angry spirit is healed and harmonized. "There," continues the poet, whose words we borrow,

" — man relents, and can no more endure
To be a jarring and dissonant thing
Amid the general dance and minstrels."

Opinion is tyrannical in England, and individual liberty suffers more from it than from the legislative enactments of arbitrary governments. Notwithstanding their cry for religious liberty, the Evangelical dissenters possess the spirit of toleration in a less degree than the zealots of any other country in Europe. In France, Germany, and Russia, no attempt has been made to force on the country particular religious observances; and even in Austria and Italy the secular government leaves the ordination of fasts and ceremonies to the exhortations of the spiritual advisers of the people; but in England, each sect, while it talks aloud of independence, tries to force its own peculiar practices on the rest of society, and designates any deviation from its individual idea of propriety as infidelity or immorality. Many a puritan who talks of liberty of conscience would fine or imprison those who do

not conform to his notion of Sabbath-observances; whereas, if he will attentively study the New Testament, he will find that those who differ from him differ not only conscientiously, but on the very highest authority.

Notwithstanding this outward sanctity of manner, the author, whose name we have placed at the head of this article, does not concede to the English a higher state of morality than is generally supposed to exist in Paris. In some instances even he claims, like many other foreigners, a superior delicacy of manners, and a greater respect to decorum for his own country and its continental neighbours. The highest and lowest classes are nearly the same in every large city of Europe, and the picture our author draws of society in the fashionable circles of London differs little from that which a stranger would naturally draw of society in the Faubourg St. Honoré. It is in the middle class that the difference between the two countries is most conspicuous, and while we award to our countrymen superior energy and industry, we must concede to France the merit of greater taste and refinement. London is, by preeminence in trade, the mart of the world, and its companies of merchants the most wealthy and enterprising societies existing, but unlike their prototypes of Venice and Genoa, they have not combined a taste for the fine arts with the more substantial acquisitions of wealth. Until lately their attention never soared above the study of an invoice, and the important items of the ledger, while the patronage of art and elegance was left as a monopoly to the aristocratic and less active part of the community. In France, on the contrary, as was justly observed in the House of Commons, there exists an atmosphere of art. Schools of design are opened in all large towns, and the advantage to the manufactures is evident in the superiority of taste in their patterns. In architecture, in dress, in the furniture of a room, or the decorations of a theatre, the French display a more refined and classical taste than the English, and this difference can only proceed from the circumstance of art being popular in France, and only aristocratic in England. Classic taste is acquired by a constant observance of perfect models, and repeated attempts to imitate; for unless the eye becomes habituated to the proportions of beauty, and the mind formed by the study of masters, natural genius will run into excesses, and often mistake a departure from necessary rules as a proof of originality. The opportunities of contemplating works of art are so sparingly afforded in England compared with the Continent, that we naturally expect the public taste to be considerably in the rearward of our less wealthy neighbours. Sunday, which weekly sees thousands of

working-people fixing their eager eyes on the paintings of the Louvre and the wonders of the Vatican, closes the doors of the British Museum and the London National Gallery. Most of the religions which exist in England are hostile to the fine arts. The Quakers and other dissenters affect simplicity if not deformity in their places of worship, while the Established Church itself reluctantly admits either painting or sculpture within its walls. Puritanism boasts of never having witnessed a play of Shakespeare, and prudery ostentatiously pulls down her veil as she passes an uncovered statue by Canova. These feelings do not exist on the Continent, and yet we will fearlessly assert that true decency is as much respected, and real virtue as much practised, in Petersburg, Berlin, or Rome, as in London or the Scottish capital of Sabbath-observers. We do not question the sincerity of those who differ from us in their ideas of morality and religion; but we must acquit the French tourist of having made an unfounded assertion when he describes religion in England as *une simagrée de piété, et les mœurs un mensonge de pruderie.* The expression is too general, but it is not altogether without just grounds.

Disappointed in the architectural appearance of London, and disgusted with the Puritanism of its customs, the traveller turns his attention to its industry and commerce, as the more pleasing as well as more striking characteristics of the nation. *There*, every thing not only meets but surpasses his expectation. *There* he discovers the source of England's political importance, and the charm which enables her arm to wield the sceptre over more than a hundred million subjects. Commercial importance is the forerunner of preeminence in the arts, and the activity displayed in accumulating wealth, gives promise of a corresponding taste in the employment of it. England is the least stationary country in Europe; improvement succeeds improvement, and the eagerness with which new inventions are adopted affords an instant opportunity of trying their worth. Civilization is on the advance in every part of the world, but in England its rapid progress comes more immediately under the eye of the observer.

Steam changes the whole system of communication, and gas gives to the night all the convenience of day. Railroads start into existence and bring cities which are geographically distant into virtual vicinity. The very operations of the understanding come within the powers of mechanism, and Babbage's machine supersedes, in accuracy of calculation, the most mathematical mind. Ingenuity invents and industry perfects engines capable of altering the whole system of society. Machinery carries its influence into the moral state of the community, and in pro-

portion as the labour of the hand is decreased the action of the mind is accelerated. A craving after knowledge has become general, but the thirst is of that feverish nature that it denotes an unhealthy excitement. The first dawn of knowledge on a class who have hitherto been uneducated, dazzles like the light upon eyes which have been couched for cataract. A *little* learning amongst the lower orders has not produced all the good effects which were expected from it; but increased information amongst the higher has greatly improved the state of society. With them old prejudices are shaken, and the taste of the age leaves the coarse diet of ruder days to pant after the purer waters of modern refinement. Elegance in the arts, delicacy in manners, and luxury in the mode of living, keep pace with the improvements of mechanics and the discoveries of chemists. Literary fame has become the object of aristocratic ambition, and many a high-born author follows a pursuit which he would formerly have deemed below his notice. Unions and clubs, societies and companies, have multiplied over the land; an impatient public demand reforms, and half-educated masses perform their political evolutions with all the precision of Machiavelian tactics.

These things are passing with such startling rapidity that the man of retirement is roused from his indifference, and forced to take interest in the bustling world. The character of the age appears in such palpable forms that the dullest sight can distinguish its features. The indolent can no longer repose in the conviction that years of idleness may roll by, and their social position remain unaltered, for the world is changing around them, and their relative situation must change with it. No wonder then that some of those whom the varying scene has disturbed in their monotonous retreat should be alarmed at the sudden change, and ask aloud for a moment's pause. No wonder that a considerable party should endeavour to obstruct the way, and with their extreme caution temper the impetuosity of others. As long as timidity exists in human nature there will be a reluctance to experiment, and the party feeling this reluctance will act as a retarding power. Their influence, however, is counterbalanced by the impetus given to society, and in attempting to arrest the spirit of improvement they have been unconsciously borne away with it. We speak not of the determined party who have in either house opposed every motion of reform; but we allude to that numerous body who prefer "to bear the ills they have, than fly to others that they know not of"—men who, if they possess some little good, would not risk that little on the chance of obtaining more:—easy dispositions, who consider indolence as the greatest blessing; or, it may be, morbid minds,

though dissatisfied with the present, are still more diffident of the future. But their opposition is useless, for social changes, when once put in motion, quickly gain accelerated speed, while they who refuse to assist in propelling the machine are unconsciously propelled by it. The mass of mankind welcome mutations, for wretchedness expects a relief in the change, and imagination still pictures to itself some thing brighter in the future.

This rapid but effective progress strikes the foreigner at every step he takes on British soil. He sees things propelled by an invisible force, and spite of every obstacle bear due on their course. He sees distances reduced, communication kept up with the entire world, population increasing, and new nations starting into existence both in the east and western hemisphere. Continents, hitherto desert, have had their shores invaded, and their once impenetrable forests peopled with a civilized and industrious race. The silence which reigned in them for "the profound six thousand years" has been broken by the sound of English accents and the tread of English planters. There is not a sea nor a river which is not ploughed by English keels, not a continent or an island which does not hold communication with English merchants. "Every flow and ebb of the tide," our author says, "brings to London or carries to the ocean nearly eight thousand tons of merchandise."

It is not the grandeur of her capital, nor the general affluence of its population, which draws from a foreigner an acknowledgment of the greatness and influence of England: it is as the centre of a vast empire—as the parent stock of rising nations—as the heart of a power, whose extremities touch the Arctic and the Antarctic—a power who counts her hundreds of millions of subjects, speaking a hundred different languages, and following as many different creeds—it is as the central government of this enormous, but heterogeneous empire, that the foreigner considers London the first and most important city in the world.

Paris is justly called the Capital of the Arts, the great seat of literature—a city of architectural beauty, and an umpire in matters of taste; but its splendid quays and royal palaces have not the air of universal sway which characterizes the port of London, nor do they, like that emporium of the world, carry the imagination beyond the circuit of their walls: whereas, the stranger who visits the docks of London is forced to contemplate every region of the globe, from the vast empire of China and the Indian Peninsula, to the boundless tracks of North America, and the innumerable islands of the Polynesian Ocean. In Asia, Africa, and America, England possesses large

territories: to all she has carried her industry and commerce, and in all of them large communities of settlers are rapidly rising. Every year sees thousands leave the mud cabin and the unwholesome workhouse, for the salubrious banks of the St. Lawrence and the fertile shores of Lake Huron. In Van Dieman's Land, and on the shores of Australia, the nucleus of a powerful people has been formed. This unlimited increase of numbers strikes the foreigner as the great feature in the future prospects of England; nor is the propagation of the English language a matter of slight importance. By the dissemination of her language, France gained a moral influence in Europe, which added to her supremacy more than the triumphs of her arms. It gave her the advantage in all diplomatic relations, and extended the patronage of her literature to the frontiers of Asia. The English language, however, promises to extend itself to far wider limits. In Australia, Southern Africa, and British America, millions speak it as their vernacular tongue: it has penetrated into Hindostan, and is known to the South-Sea Islanders; it is carried to the extreme West by the tide of emigration, whose yearly flow gains nearer and nearer to the Pacific. Add to all this, the increase of that people, who, though born of British parents, were rudely weaned from the maternal country.

The Anglo-Indian Empire, both in respect to its origin and present government, stands alone and unprecedented in the annals of the world. The rule of Napoleon, when his power extended from Lisbon to Vienna, and from Naples to Amsterdam, was but a shadow of the Company's influence, which reaches from Ceylon to the Himalaya Mountains—from the territories of Runjeet Sing to the frontiers of China. The statistics of Hindostan, and the number of descriptions recently published of that country, as well as the real or supposed designs of Russia, have drawn the attention of foreigners to our Oriental possessions, and caused the knowledge of them to be more generally diffused than at any former period of their history. It is needless to state the impression which the study of that empire leaves upon the mind—an empire, to which the Cape and Mauritius are the outposts—Ascension and St. Helen's, pickets stationed on the way.

In the foregoing remarks, we have enlarged only on the first impressions our author received on arriving in London—impressions which induce him to describe the buildings as a “mensonge d'architecture, comme la religion est une simagrée de piété et les mœurs un mensonge de pruderie,” but which

[July,

force him to acknowledge that London still remains the "souveraine des intérêts ou la bourse du monde."

To the above censure on the puritanism of our religion and the prudery of our manners, he adds, with equal boldness and less judgment, that our political institutions are a "mensonge de liberté."* The limits of this article do not allow us to pursue the subject at great length, but we cannot refrain from examining some of the causes which disqualify the author from being a competent judge, and tend to bias his hastily-formed opinion on the subject.

No two countries differ more essentially from each other than England and France: the difference does not consist more in the nature of their institutions than in their notions of abstract principles. The word liberty has a different signification amongst our neighbours, to what we understand by it at home, and the nearest definition which can be given of the different meanings, is by explaining it as equality in one country, and free agency in the other. A Frenchman cannot tolerate the precedence we give to rank, while an Englishman does not feel his personal freedom offended by the courtesy usually paid to the order of nobility. That an Englishman's house is his castle, is a common boast in this land, whereas, in Paris, a thousand domiciliary visits, and three times that number of arrests on suspicion, might take place in the year, without a riot being caused or a single petition being presented to Parliament. The nation has been so long habituated to military rule, that Paris resembles a garrison town in the time of war, rather than a civil capital during profound peace. *Here* a street is closed—*there* the passers by are not allowed to walk on the pavement; sentinels meet you at every step, and your carriage is stopped at the barrier while your name and intended residence are registered at the police-office. The system of passports is as injurious to individual liberty, as it is ineffectual in preventing crime. Don Carlos and his agents have traversed and retraversed the country without being detected, while offenders who have escaped from prison have, in many cases, crossed the frontier without exposing themselves to the slightest suspicion. The patronage it places in the hands of government, and the dependence of that government for support solely on the number of its *employés*, are probably the only motives for continuing a system which has

* The late Ottoman Minister to the Court of St. James's, observed, that in consequence of the multiplicity of conventional laws, and the hundred forms necessary to be observed in England, there was more personal freedom in the Sultan's dominions than in those of his Britannic Majesty.

notoriously failed to effect its original purpose, and merely tends to harass innocent and inoffensive persons.

Centralization gives so peculiar a character to the institutions of France, that it is difficult to compare them with the corresponding establishments of England; and a foreigner who has been accustomed to the uniformity of the former system, is naturally puzzled by the irregularity unavoidable in the latter. Government undertakes, in France, that which is here abandoned to private companies; and many public works which are conducted solely by the home department on the continent, are in England left to the discretion of a hundred different trusts. Various laws and by-laws, which are necessary to protect these private companies, and encourage the monied contractors, are dispensed with abroad, in consequence of the uniform system of centralization. Roads, canals, markets, and theatres, as well as posting, draining, &c. &c. are in the hands of chartered companies or licensed individuals, and could not be carried on with either profit or efficiency, unless certain privileges as well as restrictions were imposed on the speculators. These are the apparent incongruities which strike the foreigner, and are often erroneously set down as an uncalled-for interference on the part of subalterns. The system of self-government, and the numerous situations independent of the ministry, dress so many persons in a little brief authority, that we cannot be surprised if several meddling Dogberries should be found among the number. The love of legislation is inherent in the human breast; and when narrow minds have an opportunity of indulging it, they carry their interference beyond the range of legitimate influence. Attempts to dictate for the private conduct of individuals, and check the innocent amusements of the people, unfortunately occur too often, but they are the excrescences rather than the spirit of the system. The principle of self-government, which invests so many obscure individuals with authority, makes them also watch with a jealous eye each other's motions. The slightest injury to their particular interest calls forth a murmur; from one end of England to the other the cry of misery is often heard: the agricultural—the manufacturing—the shipping interest—each and all have their wrongs. In parliament—in public prints—in provincial meetings, the same tone prevails; but the foreigner who should judge by what he hears, and not by what he sees, would form a very erroneous opinion of society.

It is not only not probable, but not possible, that the people should be content; but we must not infer neediness of condition from restlessness of character, nor ought we to estimate misery according to the loudness of complaint. Silence does

not necessarily argue content, and the worst part of the worst bondage is to bear without complaint. Where the high alone have the liberty to speak, the voice of the nation must be tuned to pleasure, for the privileged class have attained the utmost round, and their sole desire is to keep the ladder steady beneath them. *They* are satisfied with things as they are, and find in their situation no cause of complaint. But where the middle and lower classes have the means of expressing their feelings, the hankering after something better gives a tone of discontent to their words. The tone grows louder and more distinct in proportion to the rapidity with which society progresses ; for those who have risen a little, are the most anxious to rise more, because success encourages the spirit, and advancement naturally increases the desire of promotion. In England popular assemblies ring, and the public press teems with complaints ; but the demonstration of feeling indicates the extravagant expectations, rather than the actual misery of the complainants. An economical people do not meet to felicitate each other on what they have gained, but to plan the means of gaining more—to state their grievances, not enumerate their comforts. The very restlessness of their conduct shows that they are in a progressive state, for a nation bustles into prosperity, but sinks quietly into decay.

Unless the subject is foreign aggression, or some organic change in the constitution, the great mass of the French population take little interest in parliamentary proceedings. They do not, as in England, enter into the details of municipal corporations, fight step by step the question of church-rates, or read whole volumes of evidence on the poor-laws : their attention is devoted to general principles ; and, instead of studying the thousand modifications of a mixed government, they attend only to the grand features of monarchy on the one hand, and republicanism on the other. The leading articles in their journals, which are generally written with eloquence, resemble essays on legislation, rather than the minute enquiry into every step the government takes, which characterizes our diurnal press. Their newspapers, however, have a greater influence on public opinion than is ever obtained by the best written journals in England ; because, in France, they are the sole channel of information and only organ of the people, whereas the public meetings and public dinners, the long speeches and warm debates, which take place in every county and every town in the United Kingdom, give full scope and submit to severe scrutiny the various sentiments of every political sect. By not only hearing subjects of domestic policy discussed, but even taking a part in the discussion, a

great portion of the population become so interested in the movements of the legislature, as to consider themselves individually concerned. They debate on the same questions, and with the same forms and ceremonies as are entertained and observed within the walls of parliament. Although these meetings and associations have occasionally their inconvenience, they accustom their members to the details of business, and acquaint the people with the slow progress of a deliberative assembly. Another, and a still more important object is attained, by showing the great variety of opinions which exist in society, and habituating parties to have their most favourite theories denied; for they are prepared, in consequence, to submit to a tedious opposition, and look upon the divisions within the precincts of parliament as a fair epitome of the great struggle which is taking place out of doors.

In France the government and the nation are seldom identified: in the ideas of the people they are ever at variance,—and the spirit of the one is supposed to retrograde towards absolutism in proportion as the other tends towards liberality. In consequence of the qualification being too dear for the poverty of the people, and the system of subdivision of property tending to reduce still lower the average wealth of the land-owners, the number of electors must annually decrease, and the Chamber represent in proportion a still smaller fraction of the nation. Even in this small number of electors, many neglect to exercise their rights, and a general indifference as to elections pervades the entire body. Instead of making the hustings the grand scene of political struggles, and looking for the advantages of victory in the subsequent divisions of the Chamber, the French seldom use constitutional means to achieve their purposes, but rely on the influence of secret societies and the actual violence of a mob. The cause of this system of illegal agitation may be traced to the circumstance of so considerable a portion of the Parisian population having no connexion directly or indirectly with the legislative or electoral body; and another motive may also be discovered in the absence of an aristocracy, who by their wealth and independence, can effectually struggle against the influential patronage of government. When we consider that the number of places at the disposal of the French government is greater than the number of electors, we can scarcely be surprised if the opposition party should seek to remove the struggle from the field of parliament to the more advantageous position of the clubs and streets of Paris. The democratic measure of subdividing landed property required an equally democratic extension of the suffrage; and until the legislature corresponds in its

[July,

organization with the other institutions of the country, the great mass of the people can never consider themselves identified with the government. They look upon it as a stranger placed amongst them only to coerce, and with which they are by necessity at variance. The nation is divided into two classes—the people and the crown: and as the former must from its nature be divided into conflicting elements, so the latter from the same cause must be united in all its parts. There is no landed aristocracy to watch with a jealous eye its influence, or to serve as a rallying point to the rest of the community; but the people, and the people alone, have to struggle, unaided and unabated, against the concentrated power and undue patronage of the crown. As numerical strength is the only weapon the people possess, and that weapon is rendered useless in consequence of the small number of electors, the people are generally worsted in their political struggles; and, when this is the case, there is no intermediate body to check the victor, but the crown uses, at its own will and discretion, the advantages and spoil of the victory. This is fully illustrated by the present composition of the Chamber, wherein there are nearly as many Deputies under the immediate influence of government as independent of it. The consequence is, that popular movements are directed against the constitution itself; and the blow is struck not at the abuses of government, but at its very existence. The last five years have presented a succession of illegal associations, popular insurrections, and attempts at assassination on the part of the unrepresented people; and of distrust, coercion, and secret *espionage*, on the side of the crown. The fact is, that a monarchy and aristocratic legislature, surrounded by republican institutions and democratic principles, is an anomaly which does not seem capable of being reduced to practice. The elective system adopted in the National Guards is perfectly inconsistent with the elective system as regards the Chamber of Deputies, for the one is democratic, and the other exclusive in the extreme. This discrepancy has already shown its evil effects in the provinces; and if the National Guards in the south-east had not been disbanded, an armed democracy would have been organized in direct opposition to the legislative body. As it is, not only the actual government but the constitution itself depends for existence on the loyalty of the National Guards of Paris,—who, since the reduction of the great landed proprietors in the country, constitute a comparative aristocracy in France. In order to preserve uniformity in their political institutions, universal suffrage ought to have accompanied a change in the law of primogeniture; for notwithstanding the various reductions in

the qualification of voters, the Chamber of Deputies represents a very small fraction of the educated population. One democratic measure necessarily entails another, and whatever checks government may apply to the machine, the tendency of society is essentially towards republicanism. The Municipal Government affords another example of the incongruity which accrues from not modelling on the same plan the various institutions of the country. The rural districts, in consequence of the division of property, have lost their wealthiest and most intelligent population,—while the towns, in consequence of the graduated scale of qualification, possess an inadequate number of voters. Centralization, however, cripples the powers of the Municipal Councils; and notwithstanding several propositions to the contrary, all the great public works are under the immediate direction of the Minister of the Interior. Detrimental as such a system would be in its full application to England, it is doubtful if any other plan could be safely adopted in France, for there the people are individually poor while the government is essentially rich. The rural communes have neither the same wants nor the same enterprise as the country districts in England; they neither require luxuries at a short notice from the capital, nor a quick conveyance for their own persons to it. In some instances the mayor and town-councillors care little about roads, and more than one commune has questioned the utility of any roads at all.

The reverse of all this is the case in England: here the political institutions are liberal, while the social are essentially aristocratic. Loyalty is the boast of a British subject,—and though the melioration of the Constitution is the constant theme of debate, its destruction has never yet been the object of any party. A struggle is continually going on in Parliament,—and the struggle is of that animated character, that it rivets the attention of the nation. The people look with anxiety to the final result; but the forms are so numerous and the measures so deliberate, that the winning side can only advance step by step, and never take, as in France, the country by surprise.

The institutions of Great Britain are remarkable for their pliability, or rather the facility with which they adopt the modifications required by time. They renovate themselves without violence or detriment, and the most essential part of the Constitution is the capacity of remodelling itself. This quality serves as a bulwark against external violence, and confines popular excitement to petitioning Parliament.

In France, on the contrary, every thing is done by a *coup d'état*, or on the spur of the moment. The ordinances of Poli-

gnac overthrew the dynasty : the attempt of Fieschi introduced the laws of coercion, and the insurrection of Strasbourg nearly destroyed trial by jury. The struggle between the different parties in the state resembles a war between hostile nations rather than the rivalry which ought to exist between the various sections of a popular government. Success depends upon the energy of the executive or the patronage of the crown, rather than on the popularity of a ministry or the justice of its measures. Strength, and not argument, is the arm invariably employed ; and this unconstitutional character of the government has given rise to the opinion that France is only fit to be ruled by a military despotism. Towards a military despotism, however, it is verging with painful rapidity. The National Guards have obtained at Paris a power almost equal to that formerly held by the Janissaries in Constantinople. The crown preserves its extensive patronage, and the government refuses to discontinue its useless establishments,—while the voluntary banishment with which the beaten party show their opposition to existing things, removes the difficulties which would otherwise obstruct the further progress of the victors. If the doctrinaires seize the helm, the legitimists desert the ship; and if the republicans were to get possession of the quarter-deck, the doctrinaires would take to the boats, and leave the vessel of the state to ride out the storm as she could. In England, on the contrary, statesmen never forsake the ship : when superseded in command, they take their stand before the mast, and though they disapprove of the course she lays, they try to steer her in that course with safety. If they cannot arrest a measure, they are content to modify it, and never like the French nobles expatriate themselves in despair.

The elements of society are still disorganized,—and we believe that few persons are bold enough to deny that during the last five years France has retrograded in social happiness. Equality is the object of the French reformers ; and, unfortunately, equality can be produced by debasing the higher classes as well as by raising the lower. The *bourgeoisie* show their enmity not only to the substantial privileges, but even to the idle trappings of nobility : they cut down hereditary titles, erase armorial bearings, and wage war against the etiquette of a court, while the populace in their turn cry out against the comforts and luxuries of the purse-proud *parvenus* of the Finance. Invidious distinctions in society are certainly disappearing, and self-vanity has seldom occasion to be mortified ; but while these are the few advantages to be obtained from the levelling system, the distant politeness and formal courtesy which once distinguished the edu-

cated circles of France, are now giving way to familiarity without friendship, and obscenity without wit. Dignified urbanity is set down as arrogance, and respect to outward decorum ridiculed as prudery; while familiarity, and its natural companion, coarseness of manners, are considered as assertions of equality or pledges of citizenship.

These striking differences in the institutions as well as in the principles of England and France, should withhold a stranger in either country from judging hastily, or with national prejudices, the constitution and political establishments of his neighbours. The entire social organization of the two nations is essentially different, and perhaps the great cause of this difference is to be traced to the existence of primogeniture in one country and the fatal repeal of that law in the other. That the law should provide for the younger children by proportionate charges on the land, where no personal property is left in lieu of such charges, is just, if not politic; but to divide and subdivide real property, as is now practised in France, would destroy the foundation of all our national institutions, and remove the keystone of the social arch. The first consequence would be the utter annihilation of the small but independent landowners, who are constant residents on their estates, and tend more than any other body of men to preserve social order in the provinces. The real property, which now gives the head of a family both an interest in the welfare of his country and the means to support a useful popularity in his neighbourhood, would, when divided amongst six or more children, be perfectly insufficient to raise them to importance, or bind them in consequence to their ancestral home. The mansion would be left to ruins, the land entrusted to an agent, while the owners of the soil would spend its products in the dissipation of the capital, or an equally profitless sojourn abroad. Without the hope to found a wealthy family, or even the chance of saving from further division the hereditary estate, which hitherto marked their respectability, the numerous heirs of a small income would have little inducement to industry, and no prospective interests in the welfare of their country. Family pride is a powerful stimulant to good; and should the vanity which now makes the country gentleman court the poor with alms, and the independent by hospitality—which makes him woo the authority of a magistrate, and be offended if his name is not on the grand jury—should this vanity be for ever extinct, we know not if the agricultural districts of England would not rival in misery the worst specimens in Ireland. Absenteeism would exist, and all the evils of the sub-letting system be brought into practical effect. The great estates would gradually follow the fate of the

small ones, and that high-minded race, the brave and accomplished aristocracy of England, would dwindle into an insignificant tribe of idle tourists, or *pétit-maitres* about town. Here and there a succession of barren marriages might leave a family in prosperity, or a castle standing; but they, like the ruins of a great city, would only loom in the desert as an index and a memento of departed days. The farmers and labourers must suffer in proportion as their landlords become impoverished and absenteeism prevails; and if hard times and misfortunes should lower on the country, where would be the men of substance who could face the danger and weather the storm? If any one doubts the effects of destroying the law of primogeniture, let him study the state of France, and weigh well its fatal consequences there: the rural districts are deserted by all that is wealthy or accomplished, while the provincial government is conducted by subalterns deputed from the capital. A stranger whomingles in French society must be struck with the indifference to legislative details amongst the independent sons of gentlemen, and how completely the affairs of the nation are conducted by men of an inferior grade in society. The pursuits of the nobility are various, their party predilections violent, and their thirst for fame exorbitant; but yet domestic politics—practical questions of government—the commercial prosperity of the country, or its municipal legislation—are matters quite foreign to their education or taste. They are elated by a national victory, and they boast their unflinching adherence to a dynasty, but none of them studiously prepare themselves for the part of a legislator, or store up experience to be employed some future day in the cabinet. They ever affect to contemn such tedious studies, and hasten to the capital, to dissipate in pleasure their fractional portion of the patrimonial estate. The origin of this inexperience, as well as indifference to the more minute details of a political life, accrues from the circumstance of their having no future post to look forward to, and the certainty that their small fortunes cannot ensure them importance in their own departments. They see themselves and their families sinking gradually in the scale of society, and like desperate men, make merry with the little which is saved from the wreck. The same causes would produce the same effects in England, and we should then have the many evils without the few advantages of centralization. The excellence of our roads, the abundance of our country markets, the general diffusion of civilization, and the flourishing state of our country towns, owe their origin and continuance to the resident landed gentry. Having artificial wants as well as a little state to keep up, they give encouragement to various trades and

institutions, which the townsmen and mere cultivators of the soil do not stand in need of. All this would fall with the baron's castle and the commoner's mansion. The moral and political respectability of England would sink in proportion as society became deteriorated and confused. Offices which are now filled by respectable country gentlemen, and seats in Parliament, which are the objects of contention between wealthy families, would fall into the hands of men having no stake in the country, and whose chief object would be to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the nation, regardless alike of the happiness of the people, or the advancement of sound and rational reform. Talented as several of the French Deputies are, they have neither the same practical knowledge of legislation, nor the same prompting personal interest in the country, as many an English nobleman. The consequence has been that England is marching on in prosperity, while France is ground down under the most galling and systematic tyranny in Europe.

ART. VI.—*First Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Irish Fisheries, with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.* Dublin, 1836.

A MONG the various sources of profitable employment by which the industry of Ireland could be rendered available towards the increase of the comforts of the people and the prosperity of the empire, the fisheries are certainly entitled to a large share of attention. A very slight survey even of the geographical character of the island would alone be sufficient to confirm this position. Surrounded as it is by an ocean teeming with fish of every species calculated to gratify the most fastidious palate; indented with deep and spacious bays, in which the most numerous fleets ever launched by Great Britain in her most palmy days of nautical supremacy could ride in safety; with creeks and havens innumerable, into which smaller craft can have recourse for shelter on any unfavourable change of weather; with a dense population, no individual of which, let him locate himself as centrally as he will, can be more than fifty miles distant from the coast, so that the produce of the ocean could be served up to his table in a state almost as rife and healthy as he could enjoy it on the coast; with all these advan-

tages, it might be thought that fresh fish would form one great element of national sustenance. If the survey be extended to the relative situation of the island with respect to other parts of the civilized world, the speedy and safe communication that can be maintained between it and all the great ports of Europe, the Mediterranean, Africa, the whole of the eastern, that is, of the commercial coasts of both Americas and the West Indies, affords an opening to mercantile speculations on the grandest scale; and these, again, are peculiarly aided by the extreme facility of access to her ports, and their acknowledged security, already alluded to. The natural advantages which Ireland thus possesses in a commercial point of view, may be still more strongly illustrated by the fact, that, while Great Britain commands a scope of commerce unprecedented in the annals of any nation since the records of history commence, not a vessel engaged in any department of it, with the trifling exception of the Baltic trade, but must, both when outward and inward bound, pass by the Irish coast. This reflection might lead to many enlarged speculations as to the general relations of the country, melancholy enough as to the past, but cheering in prospect. At present the considerations arising from it must be confined to the fisheries. The irresistible conclusion respecting them in this point of view is, that Ireland should furnish not only an ample stock of fish for domestic consumption, but also a superabundance adequate to meet the most extended demand of the most extended commerce. If, to these two facts, the great internal supply of the article, and the boundless expanse of foreign communication, be added another, equally indisputable, that the great majority of the population at home, and a large proportion of that of those foreign countries most intimately connected with it in their commercial relations, are bound by a moral necessity, of most powerful influence, to make fish, whether fresh or cured, a portion, and no small portion, of their usual sustenance, the inquirer is driven irresistibly into the inference that Ireland ought to be the greatest fish-producing and fish-exporting country on the face of the globe. Now, the fact is directly the reverse. Instead of contributing anything towards foreign consumption, the supply falls so far short of the wants of her own population, that in this, as in other cases of similar import, she is starving in the midst of plenty. The people of Ireland are indebted for their chief supply of an article almost essential to their existence, to the industry and sagacity of their Scottish neighbours.

Why is this so? Why—if the land, for causes we shall not at present enter into, be in a great measure locked up against

the industry of her inhabitants—why is the sea, that is open to all, the sea that seems to have made the coasts of Ireland the chosen pleasure-ground, for every variety of creature that animates its depths;—where, from the cliffs that tower over the Atlantic, may be seen by day the whale and sunfish indulging in their unwieldy gambols, or basking in undisturbed tranquillity, and by night its surface beaming with interminable streaks of sparkling herring shoals, that come and go, and leave no trace behind—why is it, that the sea, which almost throws up its countless myriads of living provender upon its shores, is unavailing to alleviate, if not to prevent, the cry of destitution that incessantly moans over the land? It is not want of knowledge. The facts just stated are as notorious as they are extraordinary. From the earliest periods, notice is taken of the abundance of fish. The ancient records of the country, few as they are that still remain, afford evidence that this branch of industry was well known and duly regarded. In the reign of Edward IV it was made the subject of special legislation. An act of the fifth of that reign provides that no foreign vessel should fish on the banks near the Irish coast, unless on payment of an annual duty of 13*s.* 4*d.*, no small sum in those days; thus proving that the acknowledged abundance of the article was at that time well known in the neighbouring countries, and that the domestic legislature, for this was an act of the Irish parliament, felt it their duty to extend over this department of native industry a protecting duty of the most unexceptionable kind against unlimited foreign interference. Philip II. of Spain, whose connexion with the Netherlands had doubtless made him acquainted with the full value of this element of national wealth, paid an annual sum of 1000*l.* for license to fish on the northern coasts of Ireland for twenty-one years. The Dutch purchased a similar privilege in the reign of Charles I, for which this thrifty and shrewd people thought 30,000*l.* not too high a price; and, during the period of the republic, the Swedes procured a permission, on similar terms, to employ a stated number of vessels in the Irish fisheries. That these indulgences did not materially interfere with the domestic trade appears from a passage in the works of Sir James Ware, who wrote in the time of James I, in which it is stated, that “among the advantages of Ireland, may be reckoned her great and plentiful fisheries of salmon, herring, and pilchards, which, salted and barrelled, are every year exported to foreign parts, and yield a considerable return to the merchants.” Instances of the public recognition of the extent and value of the Irish fisheries are not confined to the remoter periods. “The fisheries of Ireland,” says Sir Wil-

liam Temple, who wrote subsequently to the revolution, "might prove a mine under water as rich as any under ground." Young, in his valuable *Tour through Ireland*, in 1779, truly remarks, that "there is scarcely a part of Ireland but what is well situated for some fishing of consequence. Her coasts and innumerable creeks are the resort of vast shoals of herring, cod, ling, hake, mackerel, &c., which might, by proper attention, be converted into funds of wealth." Daniel, in his *Rural Sports*, says, that "the waters of Ireland abound in all that can invite an angler to their banks; perhaps they are better stored, and the fish contained in them of a size superior to those found elsewhere in the united empire." To quote the words of Wakefield, who travelled through the country in 1812, would be little more than to echo those of preceding writers. Want of knowledge, therefore, is not the cause of the depressed state of this branch of the natural resources. Neither is it want of industry. From the earliest periods, the native inhabitants of the western shores, where the harbours are most numerous, and the fish of every kind most abundant, are known to have been in the habit of launching out their little corachs, ribbed with osiers and coated with hides, buffetting the billows of the Atlantic, and returning home laden gunnel deep; less rejoiced, perhaps, at the plentiful addition they were thus contributing to the relief of their anxious families at home, than grieved at being compelled to relinquish the still greater abundance their scanty means of conveyance compelled them to leave behind. Even at the present day, the reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry, with which the reader will be made better acquainted by and by, state, that when the herrings drift in large shoals into the immediate vicinity of the shores, the inhabitants of the coast villages are in the habit of clubbing their blankets to form them into a kind of clumsy net for their capture; they themselves, their wives and children, submitting to the want of covering in the best manner they can, until the fishing is over. In the southern counties, the adventurous young men, finding that domestic employment, either on land or water, holds out no adequate remuneration, proceed across the Atlantic to Newfoundland, whence some return with the earnings of one or more seasons, while others are induced to expatriate themselves altogether, and to make that bleak and desolate region of fog and loneliness the seat of their permanent residence. It is not, therefore, want of industry. What then can be the cause?

In attempting to solve this problem, we shall commence by a statement of the causes to which this state of things has been generally attributed; and then, without presuming to intrude

upon the reader any speculative hypothesis of our own, that might, on a still more enlarged investigation—for we are not ashamed to confess, that it is a question to excite our feelings as well as to engage our understandings—prove equally unfounded in principle, and fallacious in result, as any of those that have been hazarded and proved futile, we shall detail, concisely but accurately, the attempts made, from time to time, to fix this department of national industry upon a solid footing, describe its position and bearings at the present moment, and then leave to common sense to follow out the subject to a sound and legitimate conclusion, as to the ulterior measures best suited to restore it to its ancient state of efficiency.

The present depressed state of the fisheries of Ireland has been attributed to the following causes—the poverty of the fishermen, their ignorance and prejudices, the want of shelter for their craft, injudicious laws and restrictions, and the frequency of wars.

Poverty is a charge which has been brought against fishermen in all ages of the world, from the Ichthyophagi with whom Menelaus was condemned to mess during his disastrous voyage homewards from Troy, to the native Australians of our own days; yet, poor as the vocation is, it did not prevent the Dutch from embarking in it, and persevering in it so as to render it a source of comfortable subsistence for no small portion of their population, and of revenue and greatness to their country; neither has it prevented the population in many of the maritime villages of England from procuring from it, for themselves and their families, if not the comforts enjoyed by the agricultural peasantry, at least a certain elevation in social existence, adequate to maintain them several degrees above that state of squalid destitution which the Irish peasant deems alone deserving of being branded with the name of poverty. The poverty of the Irish fisherman, therefore, does not proceed merely from his being of that vocation. It may tend to prevent his rising into some more profitable line of living; but it exerts no necessary influence to depress him into beggary. His ignorance, the second cause, is the natural—the necessary—result of his poverty; and as to his prejudices they are but an additional link in this chain of causes and effects. In confirmation of the position, that the destitution, ignorance, and prejudices of this class in Ireland arise from circumstances extraneous to their mode of life, we shall, instead of entering into abstract theoretical disquisitions, adduce the actual state of the fishermen of Claddagh, as given in Hardiman's History of the town of Galway, and shall make no apology for deviating somewhat from the direct course

of our enquiry, because, while the episode is not without its connexion with the main subject, it serves to introduce to notice a genus, or, more correctly speaking, a variety of the *Homo Hibernicus*, little known, yet worthy of being studied from the singularity of its distinctive characteristics. Let the reader compare the following graphic description of the insulated village of Claddagh, insulated not physically but morally, for strictly speaking it is a suburb of the populous town of Galway, with his recollections of the inland Irish peasant, as painted by the still more graphic and equally accurate pens of Edgeworth, Carleton, or Inglis; and he must acknowledge that the former exists in a better, a purer moral atmosphere than his brother agriculturists and mechanics of the inland districts :

" The Claddagh is a village in the western suburb of Galway, inhabited by about 3000 individuals, who support themselves solely by fishing ; they have no land attached to their cottages ; a milch cow and a potatoe garden are equally rare among them. The colony, from time immemorial, has been governed by one of their own body, periodically elected, who is called the mayor, and regulates the community according to laws understood among themselves : his decisions are always final. When on shore, the villagers are occupied in fitting up their boats and tackle for the next expedition ; and spend their leisure in regaling themselves with their favourite beverage, whiskey, or assembling in groups to consult about their maritime affairs. When preparing for sea, they take out potatoes, oaten bread, fire, and water, but no spirituous liquor. On returning from the fishing, where they are often absent for several days, they are met by their wives and female relations on the shore, to whom they hand over the whole of their capture, which forthwith becomes the sole property of the women, who dispose of it at pleasure, the men troubling themselves no farther about it, and contenting themselves with what money is necessary for the repair of their boats, and whatever whiskey, brandy, and tobacco their wives choose to allow them. They are ignorant ; they speak no language but Irish ; they have no schools, contenting themselves and their families with the religious instruction they receive from the convent church of the village, which is most liberally supported by them. So secluded and orderly are their general habits, that they are scarcely thought of in the town of Galway, on the borders of which they reside, except indeed on the festival of St. John, one of their great gala days, when the whole male community parade the streets dressed in their holiday clothes, with banners flying, and other rural antic devices to attract the attention, and excite the merriment of the spectators."

Here we see that the Claddagh men, so far from being in the state of necessity that goads almost irresistibly to vice and crime, live and have lived, from generation to generation, in comfort and content, subject only to those occasional depressions which the

vicissitudes of the elements, or general and sudden political changes, must produce upon them as well as on every other class which depends upon daily labour for subsistence; and, therefore, must infer, that if the generality of the fishermen in other districts be different, the effect is attributable to circumstances unconnected with the nature of their employment.

The next cause to which the present depressed state of the fisheries has been attributed, is the want of safety harbours and piers. The truth of this is as indisputable as the fact itself is discreditable to the government, which had neglected a necessary means of preserving the lives, and securing the properties, of so valuable and numerous a portion of the population under its care. The fourth cause is injudicious legal regulations and restrictions. Of this we must speak as of the preceding in terms of reluctant confirmation. To give but two examples—for to unravel the tissue of vicious legislation through all its tortuous aberrations, would lead into a detail equally painful and interminable—the effects of the salt duties upon the fishing trade are thus described by Fraser, in his valuable review of the Domestic Fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland:—

"Before the duty on salt was imposed, there were refineries for rock salt, not only at Wexford, but almost at every fishing village along the whole of the Irish coast. These small refineries have long been given up at Wexford and all the smaller towns and villages along the coast, and are now (1818) confined, on the eastern and south-eastern coast, to Dublin and Waterford by which this valuable necessary of life is become in a great degree a monopoly in the hands of a few individuals, and the price thereby greatly enhanced to the public: a drawback, it is true, is allowed to decked fishing-vessels proceeding from Dublin and some other ports for the herring fisheries, and for those of cod, ling, and hake; but the boat fishery along these extensive coasts, where fish of every kind abound in the greatest profusion, are not entitled to any such indulgence. Before the period when this destructive tax was imposed, there was not a cottage along the whole of the coast that did not enjoy the luxury of a winter barrel of herring, cod, or the delicious hake, a delicacy now wholly unknown to any family under the description of a considerable landed proprietor, or a wealthy merchant or farmer."—p. 127.

When our legislators imposed these extravagant and impolitic duties upon salt, they did so with their eyes open. They foresaw that the enforcement of the duty must extinguish the fishing trade. To prevent such a consequence, they allowed a drawback on all salt used in the curing of fish. But, like many other legislative measures of those days, the remedy proved as bad as the disease. Wholesale merchants and extensive manufacturers, who annually turn a capital to the amount of hundreds

of thousands, may feel the beneficial effect of a drawback which lightens, even in a small degree, their pecuniary pressure ; but to a fisherman, whose all is at risk in a single venture, whose whole capital and credit are laid out in the outfit of his open boat, his nets and tackle—what is its effect on him? Infallibly this—he is tempted by the lure of the drawback to adventure his all ; but, when the period of repayment comes round, he finds himself entangled in a maze of checks and counterchecks, certificates and affidavits, so that the mere loss of time in claiming the drawback costs him more than any benefit he could derive from the return of this portion of his outlay. The case is very well put in the report for 1822 of the former commissioners of fisheries :

"The commissioners consider it important to the subject matter of this report to offer a few observations on the impediments the fisheries of Ireland experience from the many forms required by the existing regulations of the customs' department, ere an exemption from the duty of salt used in the cure of fish can be obtained by the curer. The complexity of these forms effectually excludes the poorer fish-curers from the benefit of this exemption. The advantages, therefore, held out by the fishery enactments are rendered useless to the greater portion of petty curers ; and the result is, the necessity of purchasing their salt in small quantities, subject to the full or duty-paid price, and to abandon as an unavoidable alternative, all thought of seeking a repayment of duty, in consequence of forms to them incomprehensible, and 'therefore impracticable.'—*Report of the Commissioners of Irish Fisheries in 1822.*

True it is, that the salt duty has been repealed ; and that, therefore, the evil is no longer felt. But the ulcer does not heal up instantaneously on the removal of the cause of irritation. Bloodletting is useful ; but you may bleed and bleed, on the Sangrado system, until the animal functions are so far exhausted as to paralyze the principle of vitality necessary to close the orifice, and the patient dies of exhaustion. The timber duties afford another instance of mischievous interference ; in illustration of the effects of which we refer to the evidence adduced in the report of the Commissioners of Fishery Enquiry, which has been just published :

"There are three ship carpenters employed in Balbriggan, eight in Skerries, and three in Rush. These men derive employment at present only in repairing boats ; and this is curtailed by the practice of having boats repaired in the Isle of Man, because Baltic timber, being exempt from duty there, repairing is less expensive than at home. Masts, &c. cannot be bought there and fitted at home, without paying the import duties ; repairs are therefore necessarily completed in that island."—*Fishery Report, 1836, Evidence, p. 2.*

This source of most impolitic restriction, both as to the timber trade itself and to the fisheries, still continues in operation. One instance more is adduced, not indeed on account of its prejudicial effects, for it is so absurd as to be perfectly harmless; but as a ludicrous example of that spirit of official intermeddling that must be doing something—"The boats of fishermen must be painted black!" The legislation of Trinculo and Stephano in the *Tempest* is oracular when compared with this. Yet the law is not the offspring of olden ignorance and prejudice; not the effusion of unreformed official coxcombicality—it is one of the provisions of a statute of the 3d and 4th of Wm. IV. chap. 53, sect. 13.

Frequent and sudden alternations of war and peace have been adduced as another cause for the depressed state of the fisheries of Ireland. Their effects on those of the empire generally, are well pointed out in Fraser's work, already alluded to :

"The fisheries for the supply of the London market were begun to be carried on in vessels with wells for keeping the fish alive, after the Dutch method, in 1712, when three well-boats were fitted out at Harwich, and the number gradually increased to 30, until war breaking out with France in 1744, many of the fishermen laid up their vessels or sold them. On the restoration of peace in 1748, their number was increased to 37 sail; but hostilities again commencing in 1756, the fishing was interrupted, until the peace of 1763, when the fishing again revived, and continued until a new war with France in 1778. During this war, the trade was for a time maintained through a mutual understanding of the fishermen of both countries; but in 1780, the Dutch privateers having captured several of the English boats, it was given over until the peace of 1783. The last war with France, which commenced in 1793, was not calculated to encourage the enterprise of the fishermen, and the trade for the supply of the London market fell still lower."—*Fraser's Review*, p. 5.

This cause cannot affect the case at present. Upwards of twenty years of tranquillity, undisturbed by any actual interruption, or even by any apparent prospect of such a calamity, ought to have afforded time enough, were war a main cause of injury, to have set this branch of national industry on a proper footing.

After this cursory view of the causes to which the present depressed state of the fisheries of Ireland have been attributed, we proceed to enquire what has been done towards their removal. The first measure adopted was the bounty system. The unsoundness of the principle on which this system rests is now so fully acknowledged, that any enlargement on it for the purpose of exposing its futility would be mere waste of time. Yet, as a

matter of curiosity, it may not be amiss to give an instance of its practical effect in Ireland. The Irish act for the encouragement of the trade by bounties was passed in 1764. The average quantity of herrings imported into Ireland for nine years immediately preceding that period was 25,000 barrels; the average for nine years immediately succeeding it was 42,000 barrels, being an annual increase of 17,000 barrels of the imported article during the operation of the bounty system. The total quantity of herrings *imported* during the former of these periods was 225,000 barrels; during the latter, 380,000 barrels. The total quantity *exported* from Ireland during the same periods respectively were 51,000 barrels in the former, and 35,000 in the latter; thus showing an *increase* of 155,000 barrels in the *imported* article, and a *decrease* of 16,000 in the *exported*, during the time in which the domestic production was favoured by the bounty. It is not, however, for the mere purpose of an ironical display of the collective wisdom of the Irish legislature—for the bounty system was not peculiar to that portion of the empire—that the illustration has been given. The system, notwithstanding all the advances since made in the theory of Political Economy, is still extremely fascinating. There exists in the interior agency of every government a tendency to suffer some portions of the public money to slip into the pockets of favoured individuals under the specious plea of promoting the public interest. Notwithstanding the exposure of the system, arising from the publicity of the facts just stated, it still continued to be the chief means resorted to for stimulating the national industry on this point; for, except a grant of £6000, in 1801, in furtherance of an abortive plan for supplying London with fresh fish from the Nymph bank, off the coast of Waterford, which was represented as capable of yielding an inexhaustible supply of round fish, nothing further was done until 1819, when the Irish fishery board was established, and supplied with ample means for carrying into effect the object for which it was created.

The proceedings of this body form an epoch in the history of the subject now under consideration. Its objects were to procure a full supply of fish for the home market; and, by converting what had been hitherto an import into an export trade, to make it a staple article in our commerce with other countries. The data the board had to act upon were few, but sufficiently satisfactory. The abundance of the article was acknowledged on all hands; the failure of all previous attempts to turn that abundance to profitable account was equally acknowledged. It remained for them, by a discovery of the true causes of this paradox, to suggest measures for effecting a safe and effectual

remedy to the disease. Their means were ample—a large annual grant of public money was entrusted to their management.

The commissioners commenced by following the course hitherto pursued. They renewed, or, more correctly speaking, continued on an enlarged scale—for it had never been wholly relinquished—the system of bounties, guarding it, however, as they thought, by checks and provisos sufficiently powerful to prevent the recurrence of the frauds that had hitherto baffled all previous precautions. The result of these bounties, together with the other measures acted on during the ten years of the Board's existence, produced an effect apparently confirmatory of the correctness of their views on this point: the number of boats and of men engaged in the fisheries was considerably increased. The numbers of each at the commencement and termination of the Board's labours appear in their returns as follows:—

		1821.	1829.
Boats—decked	- - -	294	345
half-decked	- - -	421	791
open sailing	- - -	2,051	2,483
rowing	- - -	4,889	9,522
Men	- - - -	36,159	64,771

A comparison of these two dates shows, that while the new system produced a small increase in the number of the larger and more costly vessels, that of the small craft and of the individuals engaged in the fisheries was nearly doubled. The quantity of herrings cured in each of the years named in the preceding table was as follows:

Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.
1822 - - 12,122	1829 - - 16,855	Increase - 4,733.

No very great increase as the result of seven years' bounties. It must also be stated, on the one hand, that the quantity of hake brought under bounty had increased during this period from 9,393 cwt. to 32,160 cwt.; and, on the other, that during the same period the imports of Scotch fish, instead of diminishing, increased considerably; the imports of cured fish from that country being—

	1822.	1829.
Herrings (barrels)	56,528	89,680
Round fish (cwts.)	5,907	8,046

While in some of the years intervening between these two limits, the quantities imported from Scotland were considerably larger than those stated in the item of 1829.

The preceding calculations, as to the effects of the Commissioners' operations, have been here attributed to the Bounties; because their other measures were subsequent, and of slow operation. We now proceed to those other measures. The trade

suffered much injury from the want of convenient landing places, and harbours of shelter in case of foul weather. The fishermen were often deterred from putting to sea through the apprehension of foul weather; or after venturing out, either in consequence of the deceptive appearance of the sky, or the impulse of imperious necessity, they were often driven by a sudden gale on a lee coast, where their frail craft was staved, and loss of life too frequently the consequence. The commissioners, therefore, partly from their parliamentary grant, and partly with the pecuniary assistance afforded them by the London Distress Committee, and by a few of the Irish landed proprietors, undertook the construction of fishing piers, and small safety harbours, chiefly on the western coast. The money thus expended, besides its direct operation in providing places of security for the fisherman and his vessel in the most exposed situations, had the further effect, like that of the bounties, of circulating a large sum in the poorest and most neglected districts of Ireland—a portion of which, at least, must, by some of the circuitous revolutions of capital, find its way into the fisherman's cottage, and thus assist in some degree in furnishing enlarged means for a better outfit of his boat and tackle. The same effect was, in a certain degree, produced by a direct donation of money in certain cases, for the purchase and repairs of boats and gear. Still further to promote the circulation of capital, the commissioners, under the authority of a special act, established a loan fund to a large amount, by means of which the wants of the poor fisherman on every part of the coast were to be relieved, either by supplies of materials necessary for the repairs of his boat, or of hooks, lines, nets, and other apparatus, or even by a new boat; the repayment to be secured by a promissory note from the borrower, and two securities, payable in twelve months, with interest at 5 per cent.

Having thus enumerated the remedial measures adopted by the board, we proceed to the investigation of their results. The expenditure during its ten years' existence, is given by the commissioners as follows :

	£.	s.	d.
Bounties - - - - -	150,637	2	8
Fishing piers and quays - - -	22,978	11	4
New boats, repairs, and tackle - - -	16,530	6	10
Salaries and incidents - - -	55,064	13	0
 Total Expenditure in ten years	 £245,210	 13	 10

The most remarkable item in this statement, is the amount of salaries and official incidents, being more than a fourth of the

sum laid out on all the other departments. Such a lavish expenditure, under the immediate eye of the principals, must excite strong doubts as to the strictness of their superintendence over the outlay of the other items of the charge. Of sixty-eight piers and harbours commenced by the board, fifty-five have been completed, seven of which have been destroyed or much injured, partly by the violence of the sea, partly by defective construction. The sum affixed to this item in the preceding statement, does not exhibit the whole of the expenditure, as in all cases the commissioners were bound down to require that one-fourth, at least, of the expense should be contributed from other sources, which was effected partly by grants from charitable associations, and partly by the contributions of the landed proprietors, who had a personal interest in the proceeding. The amount of fish cured under the bounty system, was 216,733 barrels, and 235,391 cwt. From the expenditure in the shape of donations, for boats, repairs, and tackle, no specific inference can be drawn, because there is no ostensible return from it. It is so much money sunk, and may or may not have been productive of good. The loan-fund does not appear in the preceding statement. It arose from the accumulation of unclaimed grants for bounties or fishing-piers, which the commissioners were authorized to appropriate in the manner deemed by them best calculated to promote the main object of the commission. These accumulations are stated to have amounted to £17,363. The documents before us relative to this department of the concern are very scanty, and ill calculated to throw light upon it. All that can be collected from them is, that after the close of the commission in 1830, and after a double transfer of the powers and documents of the board, first to the Commissioners of Inland Navigation, and subsequently to the Commissioners of Public Works, the account is stated as follows:

4th Sept. 1830	Transferred to the Directors-General of	£.	s.	d.
	Inland Navigation	-	-	2,836 11 9
8th Oct. 1831.	Arrears received by them	-	-	3,428 0 1
				6,264 11 10
	Deduct expenses in recovering loan			1,024 11 3
				5,240 0 7
	Transferred to the Commissioners of			
	Public Works	-	-	
31st Dec. 1835.	Arrears received by them	-	-	2,129 3 8
				7,369 4 3
	Deduct expenses in recovering loans			465 2 2
				6,904 2 1
			L	

On perceiving, as this statement shews, that out of a capital of £17,300, which was to be turned annually, with an accumulating interest at £5 per cent, somewhat less than £7,000 appears to its credit: learning also, from the same document, that an expense of £1,500 has been incurred in collecting the arrears, and that the total amount thus recovered is but £5,557, the inference is irresistible, that the system of loan funds, as applied to the relief of the fishing interest, and as managed by the Boards of Fisheries and of Inland Navigation and of Works, is a discreditable failure. The piers and quays speak for themselves. They are of permanent utility, though perhaps in some instances injudiciously placed, or defective in construction; and form the smallest item in the account, not amounting to half of the office expenditure. The only cause of regret respecting them is, that the system was not commenced much earlier, and carried on with much more vigour and duration. When we look back at the millions lavished on martello towers, and signal-posts, and barracks, most of which are now mouldering away, or standing idle, merely as monuments of the follies and extravagance of war, our regret is still more heightened, that some part at least of the expenditure had not been devoted to a purpose much more efficient towards the prosperity and stability of the empire. The effects of the bounties, which absorbed by far the greater part of the fund, can be best estimated by the state of the fisheries since the close of the commission. It was not to be expected that its labours were to be continued for ever; that an expenditure of bounties, and grants, and loans, and salaries, was to be continued from year to year, in an increasing ratio, indefinitely. The intention of the liberality of parliament was, by giving an artificial stimulus, for a time, to a disorganized and depressed portion of the national resources, to excite them to a new energy, sufficient to give rise to a healthy action, and to enable them to be carried on permanently, according to the usual unaided calculations of profit and loss of other mercantile speculations. Ten years were abundantly sufficient for the experiment. The system adopted by the commissioners, undoubtedly, had the effect of giving an extraordinary stimulus to the trade during its existence. The number of men drawn into it, increased, as has been seen, in a wonderful manner; the population engaged in the fisheries nearly doubled itself during that period, and the quantity of fish caught was also considerably increased. But what have been its permanent effects, from which only we can draw a satisfactory conclusion? As to the latter, the amount of fish taken, though there are no official means at home for ascertaining it, we learn, from the Scotch fishery reports, that the quantities imported from that

country have increased, thus proving the failure of one of the main objects of the Irish commission—the exclusion of the foreign article, by the production of a sufficiency for domestic supply; and, as to the latter—the number of fishermen—a return from the coast-guard officers, in 1835, states it to be, in this latter year, 54,119, shewing a diminution of upwards of 10,000 in five years, to be accounted for only by one of two suppositions—either a fallacious return of the late board, (which we have neither inclination nor grounds to impute to them) or, (which we believe to be the true cause) the operation of an unwholesome stimulus, the effect of which ceased with the cessation of its application.

The commission of 1820 was, therefore, a failure. But it has not been, or at least we fain would hope that it will not be, without its use. It was an experiment dearly paid for, no doubt—an apprenticeship, at an exorbitant fee it must be acknowledged, to train our rulers, by an experience of past error, into a better track in future. They seem to have taken the hint; they have not turned away, in despair, from the contemplation of the project; they have not relinquished the idea of making the Irish fisheries available, of rendering them what they ought to be, and what they might long since have been, under steady and economical management, a source of profitable employment to a large and most valuable class of the population, and of increased commercial advantage to the empire. But neither have they at once plunged into the details of an expensive and intricate machinery; they have not rashly entangled themselves in a maze of bounties, and donations, and loans,—doubtful, if not more than doubtful, as to the soundness of principle, and distracting by their minuteness and intricacy of detail. They have commenced by investigation. They appointed a commission of inquiry, to examine into the actual state of the subject, to collect all the information that the history of the miscalculations and misconduct of past times could afford, and to report the result. That report is now before us. It contains much valuable matter, evidently compiled with caution and judgment. We have derived from it several useful suggestions, and were prepared to specify many passages in confirmation of the views we have laid before our readers, particularly respecting the practical working of the bounties and loans; several of these are extremely curious, and strongly illustrative of the difficulties to be contended against in the management of the distribution of a public fund, in aid of the efforts of individual industry. But we must pass them over, convinced that the general views already given here of the workings of these per-

nicious systems, bear us out fully in our inferences, without entering more at large into the particulars by which they can be corroborated. The report, in addition to the detail of evidence taken before the commissioners throughout the maritime districts, which forms by much the greater part of a large and closely printed folio, gives a copious abstract of the proceedings of the former board, to which we have so often referred, as also communications respecting the fisheries in several of the kingdoms of Europe, from the constituted authorities of each. These also we pass over,—not from a wish to underrate their value, for they contain many particulars, the judicious application of which would tend greatly to assist the proceedings of a public body at home, in case the experience of the past shall warrant the formation of a new official department, instead of leaving the details to the unaided exertions of individual competition.

The report concludes with a summary of the commissioners' suggestions, as to the best mode of raising the fisheries from their present state of depression. "It is probably expected," say they, in the commencement of this summary, "that some proposition for a sudden improvement of the Irish fisheries will originate with this commission; but, whatever disappointment may arise from the confession, the commissioners feel it a duty to declare, that the result of their most anxious enquiries is a full persuasion that no means can be proposed for attaining, by any short process, so desirable an event." With the sentiment conveyed in this preamble, equally sensible and unassuming, we heartily concur. The inveterate abuses engrafted upon a system by prolonged mismanagement, cannot be eradicated by a single effort. The attempt would be but an idle display of political quackery. They then proceed to recommend, as the first step towards the regeneration of the system, the repeal of every act in any way relating to the sea-fisheries of Ireland, in order that all the provisions deemed necessary may be embodied in one statute. This suggestion also meets our hearty concurrence. The multiplication of laws is among the most crying evils under which we labour, in our present state of complicated and highly-wrought society: it is also an evil that presses more severely in proportion to the destitution of the class on which it acts. If, therefore, the fishermen be, as we fear they are under existing circumstances, among the poorest and most depressed of the industrious classes, they must feel in its greatest intensity the oppressive weight of such a system. The report then proceeds with a series of minor suggestions, all of which we feel inclined to treat in a very summary manner. They are, in fact, all

included in the first main suggestion of improved and simplified legislation, or emanate from this principle so immediately and directly, as to follow it in action as matter of course.

In the fisheries, as in other departments of the bygone Anglo-Irish system of government, ignorant, injudicious, often corrupt legislation, has done the mischief. The first, perhaps the only, needful remedy is, the doing away with the bad, in order to give fair play to the action of better, laws. When some loathsome object of disease is brought into an infirmary, the first operation he is subjected to is a thorough washing; and this preliminary process is often more than half the cure. Wash, scour away, with unwearied hand, the impurities contracted by years upon years of corrupt legislation; and then it will be seen how few, how simple, the new applications need be; how kindly, how rapidly, how effectually they will operate. It is unnecessary to point out what particular laws should be retained, what substituted, in the general clearance. With good intentions, with honesty of purpose to direct, common sense will easily point them out. From the peculiarity of the insular character of Ireland, her representatives, if they reside any time at home, must be acquainted with its maritime relations and capabilities. There are, therefore, means of knowledge amply sufficient to lead to sound legislation on the subject. There is also, we believe, sufficient honesty of purpose. The eyes of the legislature, likewise, are now directed upon Ireland. They cannot turn from it. They may be momentarily drawn away, to glance at Russia, or Spain, or France, or Turkey, or the Antipodes; but to Ireland they must revert, and that immediately. It is too close to them, it occupies too large a space in the scope of their political vision, not to be a primary object of contemplation. The Imperial Parliament, therefore, must legislate for Ireland. Among its legislative measures, the fisheries must be one object. They must be, we do not say the first or second, but among the leading objects of its agency. They afford a means of profitable employment to a most industrious, most peaceable, and most orderly portion of the community; they increase, or may be made to increase, to an indefinite degree, the means of subsistence for the whole population; they may be made a source of enlarged revenue; they may form a new opening for commercial enterprize; they may be converted into a powerful arm of national defence. Ireland, we beg to repeat it, is an island gifted with an extraordinary range of coast, as compared with its acreable contents; and still further gifted in the equally extraordinary capabilities of that coast towards the nautical advantages of the empire. Lycurgus, when he was

recasting his country in the mould of soldiership, cried out, “ Let me have walls of men, not of brick.” The battles of Great Britain must be fought upon the open sea. The broad ocean is the field in which her trophies must be planted. What, then, should be the word of preparation with her legislators? Should it not be,—“ Let us have a wall of seamen ? ” Fishermen, undoubtedly, are not seamen ; but they are the *matériel* of seamanship. Here, then, is one among many points to which the attention of a legislature that seriously and sedulously devotes itself to the bettering the condition of the country should be directed. The process of improvement in it is comparatively easy. Much of the rubbish, the *débris* of a vicious system, has been cleared away, at least so far as to enable those who choose to follow up the process to see their way before them. The errors and evils of a previous bad system have been developed ; the rudiments of a better are apparent. It remains to apply to this long-neglected element of national prosperity, a due share of that searching and invigorating spirit of reform which we hope and trust is now in active operation both in and out of parliament ; and we have no fears as to the ultimate result.

ART. VII.—*Mémoire sur la Détermination de l’Echelle du Thermomètre de l’Académie del Cimento*: par M. G. Libri. *Annales de Chimie et de Physique* : par MM. Gay-Lussac et Arago. Vol. XLV.

IT has been fashionable to treat the Catholic religion as hostile to the pursuit of physical science. What motives it can be supposed to have for such hostility, Heaven knows. It surely could not fear that, from the study of astronomy, any objections could be drawn against transubstantiation, nor that chemistry or geology could overthrow its belief in purgatory. It is evident, in fact, that wherever any plausible charge has been made against her upon this head, it has not been connected with any supposed relation to *Catholic* dogmas, but only to the more general evidences of Christianity. In the painful transactions respecting Galileo, the solicitude of the parties concerned was not to prevent conclusions from his principles contrary to any point of doctrine held exclusively by Catholics, but to silence objections against the inspiration and veracity of the Bible. They took up the cause, not of Rome, nor of the Holy See, but

of Christianity in general; and, however mistaken they were, both in their opinions and in their mode of proceeding, it would be most unjust to charge them with any feeling, that doctrines contested between us and Protestants should be protected from the test of philosophical observation.

It is, however, upon the strength of Galileo's case, distorted and misrepresented as it has almost always been by Protestants, and by too many Catholics, and worse explained and defended as it has been by others, that this species of accusation has been made against Rome. It is not our intention, on the present occasion, to enter into its merits; because it deserves a more minute examination than the immediate subject of this paper will permit. We will only remark, that, putting aside that single and singular case, in which one particular opinion, and not any science, was censured, it would be impossible to prove, by facts, any aversion on the part of Rome to the prosecution of natural studies, much less any apprehensions of their results. At the very time of Galileo, Castelli, his favourite pupil, and Torricelli, the discoverer of the perfect vacuum, received every patronage; and the latter could with difficulty be induced to quit Rome for Florence, to stay there after Galileo's death. On the treatment which Borelli and others of the same school received in the Holy City, our subject will lead us more directly to treat. The elder Cassini, who succeeded Cavalieri, the preparer of the way for the infinitesimal calculus, at Bologna, was most honourably treated, and employed by the Pope; as was, at a later period, Bianchini. The former was allowed to draw his splendid meridian in the church of St. Petronio, in Bologna, the latter in Sta. Maria degli Angioli, at Rome. The learned Jesuit, Boscovich, pursued his studies and gave his public lectures, not merely unmolested, but honoured and employed, particularly in the examination and repairs of St. Peter's cupola, when it threatened to give way, in consequence of imprudent alterations in its buttresses. His "Theory of Natural Philosophy," (1758) has formed the base of many excellent works on the Newtonian Theory. But his contemporaries, the learned Fathers Jacquier and Leseur, of the order of St. Francis of Paul, in Rome, have certainly the merit of having published the best commentary on the illustrious English philosopher's works. (1739-42.) Jacquier was only twenty-eight years of age when the first part appeared; and he held the situation of Professor of Scripture in the college of Propaganda. This proves how little jealousy was felt respecting the philosophical or astronomical systems held by an expounder of Holy Writ. Jacquier continued to receive tokens of peculiar kindness from

the enlightened Pontiffs, Benedict XIV and his successors, to Pius VI, under whom he died.

Nor has there been, since his time, any want of learned and judicious philosophers in Rome, who have freely pursued their researches in every branch of science. Sir Humphrey Davy, it is well known, had many dear friends and associates in his chemical labours at Rome, where many of his experiments on the combustion of the diamond were performed. The operation of transfusion of blood, from the veins of one living person to another, was, we understand, first tried in the same city. The present Pope has laid out very large sums in the construction and furnishing of new museums of natural history, in the Roman University. Every branch of science is conducted in the public schools of that city, upon the most modern and most enlarged plans. Perhaps the only class-book, into which Cauchy's latest researches into the Calculus of Remainders has been admitted, is that lately published by Father Caraffa, for the Jesuits' public schools at the Roman College. But of these things, more on some other occasion: let us now to the matter more immediately on hand.

Upon the revival of letters, a rage seized the whole of Italy; innocent, though extravagant; useful, perhaps, although often absurd. This was in favour of Academies, which sprang up in every town, and gloried in giving themselves the most ridiculous names. The purpose of these voluntary aggregations seldom rose higher than the composition, recitation, and occasional publication, of sonnets, pastorals, lyrics, and the other infinite species of rhymed effusions, in which Italians abound; things, in general, of that standard which neither "gods, nor men, nor the columns" approve. Some, like the *Crusca*, at Florence, have indeed turned their verbal lucubrations to some better purpose; but even on this, the absurdity of its name, which literally means the *Bran-academy*, and the homeliness of its symbol, a bolting mill, were calculated to throw ridicule. Two academies, or, as we should now call them, societies, were, however, formed in the course of the seventeenth century, for a more useful and nobler purpose—the prosecution of science, by the combination of talent directed to different pursuits.

These were the Academy of the Lincei, (*Lynxæi*) at Rome, and that of the *Cimento*, at Florence. The history of one bears a considerable resemblance to that of the other. Each was planned and directed by one person, whose talents and influence enabled him to bring around him, and keep together, men of rare abilities; and, after a short duration, both came to their end, by the removal of their respective founders. During their

brief existence, both gave proof of indefatigable ardour, of sound views, and of encouraging success, in the pursuit of natural science. The name of the "Cimento," (*Experiment*) sufficiently explains the principle on which it planned its pursuits; the other, in choosing its title, allowed itself to be more tainted with the pedantry of the times; but still, in drawing it from the most sharp-sighted of animals, the lynx, wished to intimate that the constant observation of phenomena was the foundation of all natural philosophy.

The essay to which this article refers the reader, treats of the thermometers invented and used by the Florentine Academy. We notice it entirely on account of its containing the accusation, to which we alluded in the outset, founded on the history of that academy, that Rome was cruelly, nay, brutally, hostile to the pursuit of these studies. To understand the writer's attack, it may be necessary to premise, that the *Accademia del Cimento* was formed and supported by Leopold, brother to Ferdinand II, fifth Grand Duke of Tuscany. He opened it solemnly, on the 19th of June 1657. The members met at his house, being mostly, as well as himself and his royal brother, disciples of Galileo. They invented and constructed many valuable instruments, and made very interesting researches, communicated in papers published at the time, and afterwards reprinted by Targioni, in his history of the Academy.* After it had enjoyed nine years' existence, Prince Leopold accepted the Cardinal's hat, and the academy was dissolved.

The causes and history of this dissolution, are pretended to be stated by the writer before us. He tells us that "political motives induced Prince Leopold of Medici, Protector of the Academy *del Cimento*, to solicit the hat; that his request was granted, only on condition that he should sacrifice the academy, over which he presided, to the implacable hatred which the Court of Rome bore to the memory and to the disciples of Galileo. Consequently the Academy of the Cimento was dissolved, and Borelli was seen begging in the streets of Rome; and Oliva, with his bones half broken by torture, saved himself by suicide from the fresh torments prepared by the Inquisition. Many original writings of Galileo and his disciples were committed to the flames." In another passage, the writer thus proceeds: "The proscription which fell upon the writings of the great men of Florence, did not spare their instruments. Those which were saved from destruction, were chiefly apparatus for show, of which little use was ever made. But those small ther-

* "Atti e Memorie inedite dell' Accademia del Cimento," 4 vols.

mometers, made with spirits of wine, and divided into fifty degrees, of which the academicians speak as agreeing perfectly one with another, were nowhere to be found."—p. 354.

We hardly know how to characterize the condensation of misstatements and calumnies which crowds these lines. Their author is an Italian, who declares that he has turned his attention most particularly to the history of science in Italy. He quotes no authority for his assertions; he makes them with the bold assurance of a man who is either only repeating well-known facts, or is entitled to full credit, as treating of matters within his peculiar sphere of information. And yet, from first to last, there is not a word of truth in what he speaks. We are anxious to prove this to the full, lest some of our over-zealous adversaries should be blindly led to adopt and repeat these foolish untruths, as they have done so many others.

And first, as to the imaginary cause of all this persecution—"the implacable hatred of the Church of Rome towards the memory and disciples of Galileo." It is to be observed that the academy most religiously abstained from maintaining those opinions which had embroiled Galileo with the Inquisition, and confined itself chiefly to experimental philosophy. At the time that this hatred of Rome is represented as exercised even against inanimate apparatus, Father Kircher, a Jesuit, was busily engaged in that city, in constructing instruments; and even Galileo's invaluable invention, the telescope, not only first received this name in the same city, but was best manufactured there, by Giuseppe Campani, Umbrian from S. Felice, and Eustachio Divini, from S. Severino, whose lenses and telescopes were sent to Florence, and even to Paris. It was a long way to go, as far as the banks of the Arno, to wreak vengeance on the memory of Galileo, by breaking scientific instruments, when the task might have been more easily accomplished nearer home.

But this charge of hostility to the pursuit of science falls, unluckily for this author, upon two popes, whose characters can best repel it. The first is Alexander VII, during whose reign the academy was founded and flourished. He was a man, as Giordani writes, "of mild manners, and an elegant Latin and Italian scholar;" or, as Botta describes him, "prudent, and a lover of learning." (vol. vii. p. 136.) But Targioni has more completely let us into his character, as it interests us on the present occasion. He calls him "learned, a man of good taste, extremely fond of mechanics, and of experimental philosophy." He informs us, and proves, by authentic documents, that Prince Leopold occasionally sent presents of apparatus to him. (vol. i. pp. 66, 264, 465; ii. part 1, p. 337.) Again, whom should

Leopold choose to revise the Essays of the Academy, but Monsignor Michelangelo Ricci, a Roman prelate attached to the personal service of this pope and his successors, and a regular correspondent of the academy; and Megalotti, born, educated, and living in Rome? And before the work was quite printed off, the sheets were sent, through the learned Octavius Falconieri, member of the academy, to Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, one of the pope's most confidential friends, who wrote that he had perused them with great delight. (*Targioni*, vol. i. pp. 416, 455.)

This intimate connexion and correspondence surely looks more like a good understanding between Rome and the Academy, than implacable hostility on the part of one against the other. The Pope who bestowed the purple on Prince Leopold was Clement IX, a Tuscan no less than his predecessor Alexander; and the accusation must be still more harmless when made against him. Both before and after his promotion he was a devoted friend of the Medici, and consequently not likely to feel such hatred, as has been described, against the Academy which they so much cherished. But where was it likely that he should have imbibed this mortal antipathy to the memory of Galileo? For his philosophical studies had been made at Pisa, under the direction of the celebrated Benedetto Castelli, the dearest friend and scholar that Galileo ever had, and his successor in that University. The Pope, moreover, was the protector of Cassini, and of Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal Ricci, whom we have already named. This reasoning, however, may appear to amount to no more than a plausible argument; positive confutations will be easily found.

Monsignor Angelo Fabroni, in his *Life of Clement IX*, assures us that he had originally believed the story of the Pope's having stipulated for the dissolution of this Academy when he granted the Cardinal's hat to Leopold. But the perusal of the original correspondence upon the subject, between the Holy See and the Tuscan Minister, Montanti, completely satisfied him that it was false. For there was not even a distant allusion to any such stipulation. Indeed, so far from Leopold having solicited the purple, from political or any other motives, and consequently having to submit to any conditions, Clement was the first to write to the Duke that he had reserved a hat for one of his brothers. And having learnt that Leopold and Matthias both aspired to the dignity, he offered to bestow it upon both, as their virtues and acquirements rendered them both worthy of it. Hence, Targioni, who is ever inclined to suspect enmity to the Academy from every quarter, and who in the first volume had expressed a suspicion that the elevation of Leopold had con-

tributed to its extinction, in the subsequent part retracts his opinion, and expresses his conviction to the contrary.

How then, it may be asked, did this useful institute so soon come to an end? We answer, from natural and evident causes. It was never formally closed or dissolved, but fell into decay. In the first place, its principal and most active members, Borelli, Oliva and Rinaldini, spontaneously abandoned Florence about the same time. This Leopold assigns as a cause of the decay of his academy two months after his promotion, though he speaks of it as still existing. (*Lettere inedite d'Uomini illustri*, tom. i. p. 462.) Rinaldini had been an engineer in the service of Popes Urban VIII and Innocent X, and preceptor to the Princes Barberini, of the first-named Pope's family. He afterwards occupied a chair at Pisa, and then became preceptor to the heir-apparent. In 1667 he requested permission to quit Tuscany on account of his health, and retired to Padua, whence he returned to his native city, Ancona, where he died. Now, Targioni informs us that his departure "greatly displeased Prince Leopold, because it *thwarted the progress* of the academy." So far were they from any idea even then of dissolving it, though the negotiations about the Cardinalship must have been then completed. In the two following years the Cardinal himself made journeys to Rome, and thus still further led to the disorganization of the body. Indeed, before he accepted the hat, he complained, and Megalotti, in his preface to the *Transactions of the Academy*, confirms the complaint, that the Prince's numerous occupations had, for some time, prevented him from interesting himself as he wished in these his favourite pursuits. (*Targ.* i. p. 424.)

In fact, so little aware were the most intimate friends of the Tuscan Prince, that the academy was to be dissolved, that Megalotti wrote to him from Antwerp, proposing a new member, a learned convert, in place of one of the three who had left it. "Truly," he says, "in the present dispersion of the Academy, by the departure of Borelli, Oliva, and Rinaldini, nothing could be more desirable; and if the other two places could be equally well filled up, we should be pretty well consoled for our loss." He then observes that Borelli, though possessed of splendid talents, was "a capricious and almost intolerable man." (*Lettere inedite*, i. p. 295.) In fine, as late as 1669, Borelli speaks of the Academy as still existing, nearly three years after Leopold's promotion. (*Historia et Meteorologia Incendi Etnei Pref.*) So that, although the Academy may be said to have virtually expired three years before, it is evident that it cannot be affirmed to have been suppressed by the Pope, or by any one else.

Hence, Botta, no friend to the Papal See, attributes its dissolution to the discord among its members, and to the elevation of Leopold. But he expressly observes that it was not molested by the Court of Rome, under Alexander. The suppression then is all a fable, as is its alleged motive. So far from any hatred existing in Rome to the memory of Galileo, we should rather say that it was held in veneration. In the first edition of Borelli's great posthumous work, *De Motu Animalium*, now before us, printed at Rome in 1680, with all the usual approbations of the ecclesiastical authorities, we find the learned editor, Father Charles a Jesu, General of the order of the *Scuole pie*, boasts of one of his body as having been "*Galilei clarissimi viri auditor:*" an expression which does not betray feelings at all akin to hatred or hostility.

So much, then, for the barter of a Cardinal's hat against the suppression of a scientific society. Next comes the more odious charge of Borelli's beggary, and Oliva's broken bones. It does not require great sagacity to ask the question, what on earth could have taken these two men to Rome, if such a lot awaited them? Supposing their Academy to have been suppressed by an act of papal bigotry, can we imagine them, if sane, to have thrown themselves personally within the reach of the hatred that had shown itself so implacable in their regard as disciples of Galileo? For it is not even pretended that, like their master, they were summoned to Rome, or commanded even to quit Florence. The truth is, that the whole is a fiction, like the torture of that illustrious man. A brief account of their history will fully explain the matter.

Borelli, after having studied mathematics in Rome, under Father Castelli, taught the sciences at Messina, whence he was invited by the Grand Duke into Tuscany in 1656. Two years later he travelled to Rome for the purpose of studying Arabic, as he wished to translate, from that language, the books lost in Greek of Apollonius's Conic Sections. For this end he took lessons from Abraham Echellensis, a learned Syrian, author of several valuable works. In March 1667, while Alexander VII yet sat, and consequently before there was the least idea of Leopold's elevation to the purple, much less of any conditions to be made upon the occasion, Borelli requested leave to quit Tuscany, and return to Messina. (*Lett. ined.* i. 133. *Targ.* i. 215.) Redi, in one of his letters, tells us that the Prince was exceedingly displeased at his departure; and Fabroni has given a letter from the Duke to his brother, in which he complains of Borelli's conduct, and says that the fickleness of his disposition, and the restlessness of his brain, and not his health, were the

motives of his departure. (i. 185.) Marini has recorded a gross insult which Borelli and Oliva received from some drunken guards at the palace, which may have contributed to their wish to quit. (*Nelli, Saggio Letterario*, p. 116.) At Messina, Borelli lived in some splendour, till 1674, when he thought proper to take an active part in the insurrection that happened there. He saved himself from justice by flight, and arrived at Rome in great distress. The patronage and liberality of Christina, Queen of Sweden, enabled him to pursue his studies, till her circumstances became embarrassed, and at the same time a worthless servant robbed him of all he possessed. In all this there is no sign of any papal persecution, nor would it be easy for the most ingenious tracer of cause and effect to establish a connexion between his sufferings, and hatred on the part of Rome to the scholars of Galileo. But even at this period, Borelli was not reduced to the necessity of seeking alms. He accepted the invitation of the Fathers of the *Scuole pie* to live in their house and teach mathematics. Here he gave himself up to a life of edifying devotion, charming every one by his cheerfulness and amenity, till his death, which happened in the last hour of the year 1679. His work *De Motu Animalium* appeared the next year, through the bounty of Queen Christina.

Such is the simple narrative of Borelli's history; Oliva's presents a sadder picture of human frailty and misery. When young, theological secretary to Cardinal Barberini, from whose house he was expelled; next a captain of freebooters in Calabria, he came from prison to teach medicine at Pisa. In 1667 he quitted Tuscany with an indifferent reputation for morals, as Targioni observes, (i. 227) and came to Rome, where, instead of being seized by the Inquisition and stretched on the rack, he was engaged to attend, in quality of physician, Don Tommaso Rospigliosi, nephew of Clement IX. (*Grandi, Risposta apolog.* p. 176.) Tiraboschi informs us that he had easy access to several pontiffs: (*Storia Letter.* ed. Rom. viii., p. 210) and, according to Targioni, he held a situation in the palace. During all this time we have no traces of any animosity against him for having been a member of the Cimento, or a disciple of Galileo. After the death of Innocent XI, he was discovered to be deeply concerned in a society of a highly immoral character, and was imprisoned. While led to examination a second time, he slipped from his guards, threw himself headlong from an open window, and died in three hours. Romolini speaks severely of the evil life and death of Oliva, and quotes Marini to the same effect, and for the narrative we have given. (*Ragionamento sulla Satira, in Mencini's Satire*, p. 84.) As to any torture, it is a

pure invention of the recreant Italian whose essay we are examining.

Two charges yet remain, and we will handle them more lightly. And first, what truth is there in the story of Galileo's manuscripts being destroyed? It had indeed been asserted, long ago, that on the death of Father Renieri, who possessed Galileo's papers, his study was visited, and all his papers, as well as that philosopher's, seized; and the writer gives it *as a report*, that this was done by the inquisitor. (*Lett. ined.* i. 74.) But then all this must have happened, if it ever did, in 1648, nearly *ten years before the foundation of the Academy*, and consequently can have nothing to do with any papal stipulations about its suppression. The account, moreover, must be inaccurate, as Renieri's own papers served Targioni for his history, consequently cannot have been destroyed; and it is certain that he did not possess all Galileo's. Some of these are said to have been burnt by his nephew, in a fit of scrupulous alarm about his uncle's orthodoxy. But the essayist informs us that other writings of the Florentine philosopher were "turned to the vilest purposes." We suppose he alludes to the following circumstance:—Many of Galileo's manuscripts were placed in the hands of Viviani, who had undertaken a magnificent edition of his works, and was much encouraged in the project by Cardinal Leopold. (*Grandi*, p. 66.) Upon his death they came into the possession of the Abate Panzanini, and, upon the decease of the latter in 1737, were so far neglected, that a servant visited them from time to time, and carried away many of them

—————“In vicum vendentem thus et odores,
Et piper, et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.”

A certain Cioci, celebrated for his savoury wares, having been favoured among others with a parcel, and having used some for wrapping up his sausages, which enjoyed a great reputation, the discovery was made, and the remnant reserved from destruction. (*Targioni*, i. 124.) This, unfortunately, has been the fate of too many valuable papers. Within these two years, we have heard that the Barberini library at Rome has been plundered precisely in the same manner of important documents, which were discovered by the very same means. We ourselves are sufferers in a similar way; as are several of our friends, whose fires have been kindled for successive months with old records, carefully laid up, but considered, by the sagacity of servants, as put by for their especial use, in the process of domestic calefaction. Prejudice must have run high in our author's mind, to make him connect this sacrilegious larceny, perpetrated by a

valet and a cheesemonger, seventy years after the dissolution of the Academy, with this dissolution, and lay it, moreover, to the score of Popes, long before gathered to their fathers. The papers belonging to the Academy remained safe in possession of the Segni family, having been left them by the Senator Alexander Segni, first Secretary of the Academy.

Secondly, as to the destruction of the philosophical apparatus, we beg to observe that it is as true as the remainder of the narrative. It would, indeed, have been matter of small surprise if even all the instruments had been dispersed, and gradually lost or destroyed, after the society which used them had been dissolved. But this was not the case. The collection remained where Cardinal Leopold had always kept it, till Florence became subject to the Emperor. It was then deposited in the house of the imperial machinist Vayringe; after whose death, a part was sent to Vienna by order of Francis I, the greater part were placed in two rooms adjoining the library of the Pitti Palace, where Targioni saw them. Some also were preserved, in his time, in the mathematical room, as it was called, of the Ducal Gallery. But what makes this accusation still more intolerable is, that in 1829, the Cavalier Antinori, director of the Museum, discovered a chest in which were several instruments, and among them a number of thermometers with a scale of 50°, which form the subject of the accuser's essay. (*Antologia di Firenze*, Oct. 1830, p. 141.) There is no more truth, therefore, in the broken instruments than in Oliva's broken bones; the whole account is a disgraceful perversion of facts, for the purpose of holding up Rome to execration, as the persecutor of scientific studies.

We have had sufficient experience of the frauds published in our own country, for the same purpose, not to have used our humble endeavours to prevent this being added to the stock in trade of our controversial travellers. It would make a pretty appendix to Galileo's history. We doubt not but it would be greatly relished in Exeter Hall, where every atrocity is fondly credited which can inspire a nursery horror of the Pope. We verily believe that if the story were served up with some additional contemporary relish—as for example, that the present Pope had renewed the war against science, and had sent forth an army of Jesuits through his dominions, with orders to spike every telescope, and to dismantle every voltaic battery, the whole, tail and all, would be swallowed by the gaping mouths of the audience in that precious conventicle.

We mentioned, at the beginning of this article, the Roman academy of the *Lincei*, as devoted to the same purposes as the *Cimento*; in fact, it was its model, and hardly deserves less fame. Yet it has been comparatively overlooked. On the pre-

sent occasion, however, it is forcibly recalled to our minds, not merely by the resemblance we pointed out between it and its more celebrated successor, but still more by its giving a proof that the Holy See felt no jealousy of such institutions. For, when we see an academy consisting of a few philosophers, united under the patronage of a prince, for the ardent pursuit of the same studies as the Florentine, counting, which the other never did, Galileo himself among its members, yet not only unmolested, but patronized by the Pope and his family, we can hardly conceive it possible that Rome should ever have felt a hatred against science which could go so far to display itself.

But, to our minds, there is a deeper interest attached to the brief annals of this Roman academy. They are interwoven with the amiable, virtuous, and heroic character of its youthful founder, so as to possess all the stirring interest of a romance. They display, beyond almost anything else we ever read, the purity of purpose, the chastity of mind, the nobleness of soul, which a devotedness to the study of nature, when sanctified by religion, can bestow. They exhibit all the meek courage of the martyrs, in the humbler, but dearer, sphere of domestic persecution. We repeat it, the history of this academy, with its Prince Federico Cesi for the hero, would present ample materials for a romance, full of incident and spirit, and rich in the most varied characters.

Federico Cesi, son of the Duke of Acquasparta, was born in 1585. In 1603, when eighteen years of age, he laid the foundation of his Academy, being already in correspondence with some of the first philosophers of the age. His first companion in his plan was Francesco Stelluti, who possessed an equal ardour for science, morals equally pure, and a piety equally fervent. Having heard of John Eckius, or Reckius, a Hollander practising medicine in the little town of Scandriglia, in Sabina, a man deeply versed in every branch of philosophy, they invited him to settle in Rome, attached to the Cesi family. Finding the want of order and system in their studies, they arranged the plan of an academy, and, to complete it, added to their number Anastasio de Filiis, a young nobleman of Terni, who had a particular turn for mechanics; and, being a relation of the family, lived in their house. On the 17th of August, 1603, the Academy was inaugurated by its young *Prince*, as he was henceforth called. Its meetings were to be quite private; and their researches were to embrace every branch of natural and moral philosophy. By the 22d of October they had finished the construction of a great planisphere, on which were drawn the ancient and modern systems of astronomy. They met three times a week, and had five lectures at each meeting; and the subjects

treated show how active each member must have been in his pursuits. Persecution, however, soon disturbed their tranquillity. The morals of the academicians were irreproachable; and their statutes prescribed virtue as the first duty. Among the numerous dependents of the Duke were many who, instigated by jealousy or worse motives, poisoned his ear, and filled him with suspicions against his son. He made every effort to separate him from his companions, and to wean him from his studies, but in vain. With his mother, a woman of sincere piety, and who, to the end, was kind and affectionate to him, they endeavoured to prevail, by insinuations against his moral conduct; and at length succeeded so far as to render her uneasy in his regard. On Christmas Day, when the very existence of the Academy seemed precarious, the Prince assembled it, and, after a touching speech, invested each member with a gold chain. They agreed to a new code of laws, among which was one that every meeting should be opened by prayer. St. John the Evangelist was chosen patron of the Academy; and, forthwith proceeding to his church, they implored his intercession in their difficulties.

But the Duke was a man of haughty, overbearing disposition, dark in his plots, and inexorable in his resentments. To such an excess did he carry his enmity, that his son was obliged to fly from his house, and was pursued by him with an armed band. Stelluti was compelled to return to Faburiano, and De Filiis to Terni, surrounded by emissaries, and threatened by the bravoes of the stern old lord. Yet, when so dispersed, they continued to correspond, and even to meet in the country, at the risk of life. Eckius, obliged also to conceal himself, had his apartment broken open by the Duke's orders, his furniture demolished, and the collections and instruments destroyed. But the wily tyrant wove around him a darker mesh. He affected kindness and respect towards him; and, having drawn from him the names of his sworn enemies, suborned them to make the vilest accusations against him before the ecclesiastical authorities. His life was threatened, on Holy Thursday, by an assassin; and, after having lain concealed and almost starved, in young Cesi's apartment, for many days, with sentinels at every door, he was obliged to surrender at discretion, and was escorted by a band of hired ruffians to Holland. On his way, he wrote his observations on natural history, with admirable drawings on the margin, which he sent to Rome. They were preserved, with the diary and other papers of the Academy, in the Albani Library, till the French invasion. His guards left him without money at Turin; but he proceeded to Holland, and thence to England and Scotland, on which he likewise wrote his observations. Cesi retired to Naples, where he still pursued

his studies. Eckius returned to Rome in 1606, as appears from a letter written by him to the celebrated Kepler; but new persecutions obliged him again to fly, till 1614, when, for the last time, he returned to the eternal city.

The annals of the Society are silent till 1609; a year remarkable in the history of science for the invention of the telescope. The news of the accidental discovery at Middelburg, which suggested the idea of that invaluable instrument to Galileo, reached Italy in the spring of that year; and we have a letter of Della Porta at Naples, to Cesi, dated August 28, in which he gives a drawing of a telescope, with a reference, for its principles, to his work on Optics, published in 1589. When we consider that Galileo did not exhibit his in Rome till 1611, it will seem probable that Della Porta was guided by his own sagacity to divine the nature of the new invention. One thing, however, the historian of this Academy considers pretty certain; that the names "telescope" and "microscope" were first devised by Federico Cesi. When Galileo came to Rome, he became a member of the Academy, at whose expense some of his works were printed. Indeed, by the year 1612, it had extended its reputation very far, and undertaken the publication of several works, among the rest, the observations of Hernandez on the natural history of New Spain, with notes by the Academy, and had formed a plan for branch societies, with a college at Naples. The work of Hernandez did not, however, appear till 1651 (2 vols. fol.); and it has prefixed a brief, dated 1627, of Pope Urban VIII, the very pope under whom Galileo was condemned, in praise of the Academy. To the same pope, Cesi dedicated his microscopic observations on the bee; and his nephew Cardinal Barberini entered his name among the members of the Academy.

But, in the mean time, new domestic troubles had gradually withdrawn Cesi from his previous undivided attention to the interests of his society. He had married; and, in addition to the cares of his own household, had to undertake the management of his father's property; for the old nobleman, extravagant as he was imperious, had fallen into considerable embarrassment; and, reserving an annuity, made over his estates to his son, who engaged to pay all creditors. Cesi was obliged to reside upon the estate of Acquasparta, upwards of a hundred miles from Rome; and, at the same time, his father's waywardness and tyranny wore out his spirits, and undermined his constitution. The Duke died on the 24th of June, 1630; and, on the 2d of August, his son followed him to the grave, at the age of forty-five. He seems to have been the idol of all that knew him. His portrait exhibits a mild, and thoughtful, and noble

countenance ; and every record proves that, while, in moments of danger and difficulty, he could display the greatest courage and dignity, yet, when contending with the capricious tyranny of his father, he never, in word or act, transgressed the duty of an obedient son. He was well versed in every class of literature ; seems to have been a proficient in Arabic ; and, when Cardinal Bellarmine consulted him upon some points of natural history, his answer, though written in the country, contained so much learned discussion upon the doctrine of the fathers, whose passages he quoted on the subject, that the eminent theologian affectionately chid him for such an unnecessary display of learning. This correspondence is given by Scheiner in his *Rosa Ursina*. Cesi was one of the first to make accurate observations on fossil woods, and to discover the system of propagation of ferns. Brown has accomplished what the Lincei were anxious to do, to commemorate his name in science by conferring it on some plant. His class of *Cæsia*, in Australian botany, is called after him.

After Cesi's death, the Academy languished on for twenty years, when it became extinct. His death, indeed, was so sudden, that he did not make a will ; and thus his museum, with its curious collections and instruments, became the property of his family. Bianchi, who wrote a history of the Academy, endeavoured to revive it, but failed.* At the beginning of this century, it was renewed. Pope Leo XII gave it apartments in the Capitol, and built for it there an observatory, now under the direction of its president, Scarpellioni. Its apparatus is very complete ; and we have now lying before us an able paper lately read in it by the learned Father Pianciani, containing some new experiments and results upon electro-magnetism. The present pope pays an annual visit to this establishment.

We might have added to this sketch the history of other scientific academies, as that of Bologna, which succeeded the Cimento, and reached its glory under Morgagni, for it never experienced anything but countenance and protection from the sovereign pontiffs ; but what we have written is sufficient for our purpose, which was to disprove the assertions of Libri, and at the same time, to show the slight grounds of plausibility on which they rest.

* For our account of the Lincei we are indebted to Prince Odescalchi's work upon the subject, 4to. Rome, 1806.

For a correct account of the state of natural philosophy in the middle ages, and an exposure of many erroneous opinions of modern writers as to the supposed hostility of the Church to scientific pursuits, see Cap. VII., VIII., and IX., of Mr. Digby's admirable *Age of Faith*, Book VIII., recently published. We hope in a future number to draw the attention of our readers to the writings of this very distinguished author. The 8th Book, inasmuch as it is more practical, exceeds its predecessors in merit.

ART. VIII.—*Christian Political Economy; or, an Examination into the Causes of Pauperism as it exists in France and Europe, and of the Means of Relieving and Preventing it.*
By the Viscount Villeneuve Bargimont, Prefect of the North, formerly Counsellor of State, Deputy, &c. 3 vols. Paris. 1834.

THE progress of industry, the continually increasing activity of manufactories, and the more and more extensive application of the principles of science to all the useful arts, are facts which the detractors of the times we live in cannot dispute. If Great Britain was the first to give the signal for this universal activity, if she still leaves all other nations behind her in the career which she threw open to them, it is not the less true that the space which separated her from her rivals is sensibly diminished. Not only have the United States, with all the energetic pertinacity that distinguishes the inhabitants of the mother country, raised numerous manufactories under the protection of their liberal institutions, and that even before the increase of population could suffice for the purposes of agriculture; but nations bending under the yoke of despotism, the Austrians, and even the Russians, are making progress in the amelioration of the useful arts,—and ere long, perhaps, Sheffield may have to contest with the workmen of Toula for her monopoly in the markets of Persia. France, Belgium, and Prussia, on their part, are displaying unaccustomed activity; and their manufactories, multiplied and improved as they have been since 1815, will perhaps receive in the course of a few years an assistance from the railroads now projecting upon the continent, the consequences of which we can neither foresee nor calculate. Without giving way to the enthusiasm of some modern Utopians, if we examine, however coolly, this concourse of powers, inert half a century ago, and now employed in the production of all that is necessary, of all that is merely agreeable to the human race,—if we reflect that these powers continually gain strength, and are directed by knowledge, which is itself increasing,—it is difficult not to believe in the approach of an earthly millennium, during which poverty shall be banished from the earth and misery unknown. Such, at least, would be the conclusion we should come to, could we be ignorant, that at the side, under the very shadow, of those gigantic establishments which the genius of industry has raised, pauperism has established her dwelling. There is no doubt that there are every where men, whose idleness or misery levies a tax upon the superfluities of their fellow-creatures; but these beings whom vice or misfortune has degraded, are no where

numerous enough to become an intolerable burden, or to compromise the future peace of nations, except in the countries to which industry has carried all her riches, and which have attained the highest degree of prosperity. There would even seem to be an indissoluble connexion between wealth and pauperism,—they put forth together their power of increase, and faithfully divide the conquests which they make. Thus, in Great Britain, so far exceeding other nations in the extent of her commerce, and the skill and perseverance of her workmen, there is a greater number of individuals supported by public charity than can be found in any other country. Of all her rivals, France approaches her the nearest; and, accordingly, next to herself, the largest proportion of poor is to be found in the manufacturing districts of that country. Of this we shall find abundant proofs in the remarkable work we are about to analyze.

It would be an evident absurdity to suppose, that pauperism and industry can be connected in such a way, as that the most enterprising and laborious people should of necessity be those who include the greatest number of persons unable to support themselves by the work of their hands. Manufactories, and the commerce they supply, create an immense demand for workmanship, and have consequently a most favourable effect upon the price of wages, and the welfare of all who prefer the comfort of independence to the shameful idleness of parish support. None can be less disposed than we are to believe that the accumulation of our circulating capital, and the excellence and multiplicity of our machines, can tend to promote or aggravate the distress of the lower classes,—a distress which, although partial in England, is indisputable, and could not be much increased without endangering her tranquillity. Unhappy Ireland is a living proof of the utility, nay more, of the necessity of commercial industry. If her inhabitants, in spite of the fecundity of their soil, are now an object of pity to those who, in the natural course of things, should have beheld them with envy,—it is because, reduced almost entirely to the cultivation of the earth, and deprived of the resources they would find in more abundant capital, and in manufactories, in proportion to the number of hands not required by agriculture, they find nothing to employ the time left at their disposal by their present occupation. To pacify Ireland would be to give her what she requires,—by offering to English capitalists a market incalculably more advantageous than the mines of Mexico. The redress of all her grievances will certainly have an immense political effect, by adding to the legal bond that unites the two islands, the closer union of sincere and reciprocal affection. But the concessions already obtained for

Ireland, or those she is still seeking, are, as respects the welfare of her peasants, only so many means of opening a more extensive market to their labour. But however great the advantage of industry, whether for the workman himself or the country which he inhabits, the progress of pauperism in the wealthiest nations is not the less a fact, and a phenomenon which deserved and obtained the most serious consideration. As England was the first to perceive this deplorable anomaly, so our economists were the first to inquire into the causes of it. The late Mr. Malthus owes much of his celebrity to his well-known and justly admired essay on the principle of population. According to this writer, population, when it is unchecked by external circumstances, but obeys its natural tendencies, is multiplied in a geometrical proportion,—and as, when all land is brought into cultivation which is capable of it, food can only increase in arithmetical ratio, it follows, as is unanswerably demonstrated, that at the end of a certain number of years, in any country whatever, if it has been well and happily governed, and has not been ravaged by periodical scourges, the number of inhabitants will arrive at that point when the produce of the earth will be insufficient to sustain them. This theory, broached as it was at a time when the farmers were realizing enormous profits by the rise in the price of corn, became immediately popular: its success was the more certain, because those who most violently attacked it had no reasonable objection to oppose to it. If we suppose a nation never visited by plagues, where the fields are habitually fertile, and which is constantly directed by a wise administration in the paths of prosperity, we shall easily discover, that in time this nation will multiply until its harvests, however skilful its agriculturists, will no longer suffice for the necessities of an innumerable population: and what is true of one people is true of all, if they all and always enjoy the advantages we have enumerated. Thus, as is so forcibly stated by the learned Mr. Malthus, we can only conceive two possible remedies for such a frightful consequence of *universal and continual happiness*,—the one which should precede and prevent it, the other which should accompany and diminish its terrible effects. The first is the moral check, which would prevent improvident marriages; the second is the misery consequent upon these marriages when they become too numerous, which misery, by destroying a part of the children, would leave a sufficiency for the rest, at least, for the purposes of existence. As Mr. Malthus's system offered a plausible explanation of the increase of pauperism, it was eagerly adopted by the greater number of political economists, who were unable either to deny the existence of the evil or to

propose a remedy. By the writings of many of them, one might be tempted to believe, that it was to punish Adam for the fault he had not yet committed, that God imposed on him the command to increase and multiply. Economists of both sexes combined their efforts in this crusade against marriage,—and certainly if the propagation of our species could be stopped by subtlety and talent, the works of Miss Martineau would entitle her to the especial gratitude of that posterity—whose existence she would have prevented. But with all this, there is something so terrible in a theory which seems in its practical effects to revive Manicheism, and all its horror of conjugal union, that violent opposition to it might be expected; and accordingly a keen controversy began upon the subject: and no one on either part thought of considering whether or not this superabundance of population so much disputed about, did really exist. Yet this was the point at which they should have commenced; for the doctrines of the *Essay on Population* may be true in this sense, that in certain given circumstances, the human race will not find food enough upon the earth to support it—or, to go farther, space enough to move about in—without its being therefore necessary to admit that wherever there are poor, the cause of their misery is the too great number of inhabitants. If we are not mistaken, the disputants followed too closely the example of the learned men of the sixteenth century, who expended so much ink in proving on the one side, that men might be born with teeth of gold, and on the other, that such a phenomenon was impossible; they would have done better, in the first place, to open the mouth of the child who occasioned the dispute, and at once ascertain the fact. The superabundance of the population that eat must not be confounded with the superabundance of the population that work,—and it is evident that the Malthusian theory applies only to the first. Now we deny most absolutely that there is in Europe one single country, which, with the land already under cultivation, and by the assistance of the means of traffic which it derives from its industry, might not subsist a more numerous population than that which it now contains. Let us take the United Kingdom as an example: are not landlords and farmers complaining of the low price of corn? have not cultivated fields to a considerable extent been thrown into pasturage as a more profitable employment? These are striking proofs that the demand for food is not greater than the supply; if we required others, we should find them in the modifications that have been made in the corn laws. Is it credible that the quantity of foreign corn admitted for home consumption should not be more than 500,000 quarters, if there were really such a disproportion

between our harvests and our wants? Restore to the plough a part of the lands which it tilled before its labours were circumscribed by the low price of grain, and instead of importing the produce of foreign agriculture, we shall be able to export the produce of our own. It may perhaps be said, that the supply of food is only more extensive than the demand, because the lower classes, especially in Ireland, are condemned to an almost perpetual fast; and that for England in particular, she receives yearly from the sister island provisions to the value of £10,000,000 sterling: but Holland, at the best period of her prosperity, was far from producing corn enough for her consumption,—yet no Dutch Malthus at that time thought of blaming Providence for the fertility of his countrywomen. The profits of industry and of commerce compensated for the insufficiency of agriculture; and who will dare to affirm that in the nineteenth century, England, the richest of all nations, could not find in the same means the same resources? If the wages of our workmen were high enough to enable all without exception to buy all the food they could require, we should import a larger quantity of food and a smaller of silks and trinkets,—nor should we sow an additional acre of land, for prices would remain stationary. If then there is distress in the country—if pauperism spreads like a contagious distemper—it is not owing to that sort of superabundance which disturbed the imagination of Mr. Malthus. We are not in the situation of a ship's crew put upon an allowance of food because their stock of provisions is on the eve of failing, and they know not where nor when they will be able to replenish it. Whoever has money wherewith to pay for his daily bread, is far more secure of obtaining it than is the farmer that he shall receive a remunerating price. Setting aside the recourse we might have to foreign markets, our ordinary harvests are sufficient, since the quantity of corn that we import does not amount to the fortieth part of our consumption; and consequently if the inhabitants of the country have greatly multiplied, the produce of the earth has increased in a like proportion. Indeed we do not hesitate to affirm, that the progress of agriculture has surpassed that of population, since if they had advanced at an equal rate, the money value of grain would have risen much more than it has done within the last fifty years, in consequence of the prodigious increase of our circulating medium. The existence of a superabundant population, when compared with the quantity of provisions we can command, is as great a fallacy as ever gained credit among mankind; but there is another redundancy, the redundancy of labour, which cannot be so easily denied, and to which must be ascribed, with the gradual impoverishment of the lower orders,

every mischief growing out of their present distress. Of all marketable commodities, that which is least sure of a demand, most variable in its price, and which makes to the producer the most unfavourable return, is unquestionably manual labour,—and yet, thanks to the decay of religious feeling, and to the desire for the comforts of life which is now so generally diffused, the workman has contracted habits and acquired tastes which were formerly unknown to him. And thus he is doubly a sufferer, since his condition is worse, and his anxiety for its improvement greater. This is the wound which is so deeply seated in commercial countries, and which, if not healed, must in the end prove mortal. It should therefore be the constant aim of political economists to discover some means by which the wages of labour may be brought up to the proper level. No doubt a reduction in the number of labourers would have, in this respect, a sensible effect; but it is really making a jest of our credulity to maintain that we can expect this reduction from the intelligence of the lower classes, without other moral check than the fear of bringing into the world children, whose condition would be burdensome to themselves and their parents. Protestants, who inveigh so violently against the celibacy of our priests and religious orders, would scarcely dare to represent marriage, to their workmen, as a thing forbidden them by the word of God. It would be a something quite too absurd that they should insist upon giving wives to their ministers at the expense of their labourers,—and however able they may be in expounding the Holy Scriptures, we do not think they will find in them a syllable to condemn improvident marriages. We, Catholics, so long accused of binding our clergy to a duty which is contrary to nature, do not go so far as this,—and, consequently, neither Protestants nor Catholics can avail themselves of any religious tenet in the advice given to the lower orders; at best that advice is but a caution, founded entirely upon temporal considerations. We undertake to persuade them, that, in satisfying the strongest of human passions, under its most legitimate form, in taking a helpmate, they will rather add to than alleviate their sufferings. This would indeed be the fact, if there could be any comparison drawn between the happiness promised by the marriage state and the physical wants which it creates for the poor man; or if those wants were as terrifying to his mind as they appear to ours. But the labourer whose morals are untainted, has a heart to feel as well as any lord, and less than the wealthiest lord does he dread the incumbrance of a numerous issue. A peer of the realm may, indeed, look with some terror at the prospect of a large family, because unless he succeeds in

quartering them upon the public purse, the junior branches can only bud and blossom at the expense of the elder scion. The humble mechanic is so far better off: he has no younger sons to support in the world,—they are all *first born*, since each of them is entitled to the whole of their parent's estate,—his industrious habits, his sinewy frame, and health unsubdued by the blandishments of wealth and indolence.

It therefore would be folly, however miserable his fate may be, to ask him to abstain from marriage, for the love of beings who have yet no existence, and for the fear of bringing them into a state to which he himself is resigned. It would be more logical, if the belief in a future existence did not intervene, to preach to him the advantages of suicide; and, indeed, if the life that he leads appears to him insupportable, why does he not kill himself; but if he believes that it is preferable to death, why should he hesitate to become the father of labourers, who, after all, will be no worse off than himself? There is a certain school of atheistical politicians, whose declamations against imprudent marriages have a direct tendency to encourage the greatest of all crimes. For if there is virtue in not assisting to increase the supply of labour by the propagation of the species, there must be virtue in a man's diminishing the stock by throwing himself into the water: happily the fear of overstocking the market, which regulates the price of labour, has as little power to add one new name to the list of suicides, as to erase one from that of husbands.

If the fate reserved for the children that may be borne of him, cannot prevent the marriage of the labourer, will he shun the burden of a young family for his own sake, from the fear of being overpowered by it? No doubt this perspective is a real check upon a young man whose personal situation would be made much worse by the necessity of providing for a young family; but then his situation must be one which is capable of becoming worse; that is to say, he must be in possession of some comforts which he must give up when he gives up celibacy. If, like the Irish peasant, he has reached the last pitch of human misery, what has he to fear? Downright starvation seldom occurs: there is such a thing as charity in the land; and he can hardly apprehend that the meagre pittance he subsists upon himself will not be afforded to his little ones by some friendly neighbour; nay, by exciting sympathy, they will obtain a relief which may, perhaps, extend to himself; and, if he reside within the pale of a poor law system, they will invest him with a legal claim to public assistance. Assuredly, when the conjugal tie is the only sort of happiness the poor man can hope to know in

this world, he will not easily be persuaded to renounce it; unless, indeed, the beginning of the attempt is to corrupt his morals; but in that case, celibacy will become alarmingly fruitful, and natural children will fill up the place of those who are not born in wedlock. Thus, in France, in England, and, wherever religious faith is weakened, the number of marriages diminishes, but that of labourers does not the less increase. It must be owned, that our present social organization contributes greatly to increase, if not the number of marriages, at any rate that of births. At all times, the greater part of mechanics have lived at their own expense, receiving from their employers the wages agreed upon. The unmarried artizan, thus placed, is almost irresistibly led to get married, or to lead an immoral life; but it was otherwise with the agricultural labourers, who were mostly supported by the farmers who employed them, and lived under the same roofs; and in this case celibacy was almost always the implied condition upon which they kept places which they were not willing to lose. At present a different system prevails very generally; and the agricultural labourer, placed in the same situation as the mechanic, and in possession of equal independence, is exposed to as great temptations. Connexions, lawful or unlawful, have therefore wonderfully increased; at the same time our system of manufacturing steps in to offer a real premium for the multiplication of young generations. Wages are now given to children, however young. How is it possible, then, that the workman can fear to have too many children in those districts where factories flourish, so long, at least, as they do flourish? All the reasonings of Mr. Malthus, and of all his disciples, can never counterbalance the terrible fact of wages earned by infants. Imprudent marriages have multiplied wherever this fact exists; above all, when the inducement thus held out is strengthened by a legal provision made for the destitute. The employment of women and children at labours which formerly required the address and the strength of adults of the other sex, has contributed not only to multiply marriages, but to increase the quantity of labour thrown into the market. Out of a million of human beings, there are now (we are speaking of manufacturing districts) many more labourers than before the introduction of machinery. Since the man who has attained to adolescence is scarcely preferred to the woman or the child, and the task of the workman has become merely an exertion of incessant watchfulness; for the machines lend their immense power, their incomparable address, to the weakest and least intelligent hand; and individual ability thus neutralized, the work of the father of the family is placed upon a par with that

of his children. They come together into the market; and we cannot be surprised if the supply exceeds the demand. It is true that all work; but if the work of all together obtains no higher amount of remuneration—if the wage of the father is diminished by what his children receive—we are compelled to acknowledge that, in this respect, the very perfection of machinery leads to some danger. By it we have added to the number of workmen, without increasing the number of consumers; and thus is explained in part why the distress of the lower orders has its source not in the rise in the price of food, but in the reduction of wages. It is well known, however, that England is not the only civilized country where this reduction has taken place, and has been accompanied by indications the most alarming for the public tranquillity. Our continental neighbours are not, in this respect, better off than ourselves; perhaps they have more right than we to complain, for they have made greater efforts to falsify the words of our Lord,—“The poor you shall have always with you.” Those religious reformers who, during three centuries, accused Catholicism of being the natural adversary of social principles, and of all systems which were favourable to the prosperity of a people, or the developement of their liberty, contented themselves with dividing amongst the nobility, or giving to a married clergy, the wealth which had belonged to a priesthood living in celibacy. The French reformers proceeded differently: acting for the people, they distributed *amongst the people* not only all ecclesiastical estates, but also those of the principal families; and the law of succession was altered in such a manner as seemed to hold out to the inhabitants of that country the enjoyment, at no distant date, of *all the benefits* of a real agrarian law; for already the number of landed proprietors who pay a land tax of less than five francs, amounts to upwards of four millions. Yet, in spite of the democratic tendency of the legislation, and of the administration in France, the lower orders are as numerous, and seem likely soon to be as miserable, as in those countries where they are most to be pitied. That this should be the result of so many confiscations, and of so many measures intended expressly for improving the condition of the working classes, might well astonish those who had so loudly applauded the former, and so eagerly sought for the latter; and their surprise was so much the greater, and the more natural, because the distress which now exists in France was unknown before 1815; that is to say, before, in imitation of our example, she had entered the career of commerce upon the grandest scale. If the memory of Napoleon is still so popular amongst those who suffered the first and the

most severely from his despotism, it is because, during his reign, wages were extremely high; and the workmen, in consequence, were far happier than they have been since. It is true that this prosperity cost dear; for it was the result of the conscription, by which the supply of labour was diminished in a much greater proportion than the calamities of Europe had lessened the demand. The tax of blood levied by the conqueror upon all the families of France realized the Utopia of our economists; and it is worthy of remark, that peace with all the nations of the world, and the immense field which it threw open, within and without, to the industry of the French, has not been able to keep wages at their imperial level; because the demand for labour thus created could by no means keep pace with the supply of labour which resulted immediately from the abolition of a system of recruiting that spared but a small minority of young men, and restored but a small minority of those whom it carried away. We have here a striking proof that the increase of manufactures, and the apparent, and even real prosperity of a great country, are not incompatible with the ruin of the labouring classes. When the higher classes grew rich, and wages were reduced, the French economists were more than ever embarrassed to find an explanation of this deplorable phenomenon. According to Say and his immediate followers, the glut of manufactured produce which so frequently took place, and the almost periodical suspensions of the labours of the mechanics, were occasioned by there being still not a sufficiency produced. According to Sismondi and many others, the increase of population was the real cause of a distress which could no longer be disputed. All demanded fresh markets; and, as the Bourbons failed to discover any, and as these writers were, for the most part, of the protestant or anti-catholic school, they attacked the religion of the Bourbons, and carried their absurdity so far as to accuse the priests, above all the Jesuits, of the disasters of French commerce.

A new school then arose, in the St. Simonians, who were political economists before they became a religious sect. They took up the question further back, in the connexion between the master and the workman; and they maintained that, in the present constitution of society, the latter is inevitably a victim to the rapacity of his employer; and that thus, in order to procure for the working classes a tolerable existence, a complete revolution was necessary, in the first place in property, and in the second, in the laws by which the possession and the enjoyment of it are regulated. With higher views, and more cultivated intelligence, the St. Simonians arrived at the same practical

results as the *Owenites*; and if their religious reveries are now forgotten, it is not so with their theories upon property, and the distribution of the social revenue, which have sunk deep into the minds of the people, and greatly weakened their respect for the right of the rich man to the full possession and free disposal of his fortune. We do not hesitate to affirm, that even among the higher classes, the opinion which is most generally received is, that society alone possesses, and that each individual proprietor holds from her, and during her good pleasure, all the rights with which he is invested. The Catholics, and perhaps they alone, reject, at this time, a principle which would imply (at least in the abstract) that the governors of society possess a power of removing property, and disposing of it at their pleasure. At length came the revolution of July, and with it a government which made war upon the Jesuits, tore the cross from the churches, and could hardly be suspected of being priest-ridden. But the rate of wages continued to decline; and, in spite of the triumph of the liberal party, in spite of seven years of extraordinary abundance, the French workmen, far from entering upon the Eden of which they believed they had forced the gates in 1830, behold the comforts they had formerly enjoyed decreasing day by day. There is no recent traveller in France, who has mixed with the people, who has not observed how greatly less violent are the prejudices of the working-classes against the clergy; how completely the French priests have ceased to be considered as the natural allies of the administration. The opposition can no longer make them responsible for the existing distress; the lower orders no longer accuse them of their sufferings. Catholicism is at length distinct from the discussions concerning wages, and has found in this new position a thousand times greater advantages than it could have received from the favour of the elder branch. Experience had proved that the Catholic religion, so far at least as court favour and court influence were concerned, had nothing to do with the glut either of produce or of labour; and then arose a new school of political economists. Catholic in its faith, and catholic in its manner of conceiving science, this school, little known in England, begins to develope its principles in France; and its existence is the necessary consequence of the entire contradiction which facts have given to the doctrines and to the promises of protestantism and of philosophy. It was natural that Catholics, who had so long heard religious celibacy denounced as anti-social by the enemies of their creed, should begin, upon reading the essay of Malthus, to enquire whether this institution had not been specially provided to preserve society from the tremen-

dous evil of a redundant population, and whether it does not constitute the only moral check that can be made practically available. It was natural, also, that they should enquire whether the idleness of the workhouse is not a heavier expense to a country, and does not deprive it of a greater number of hands than the charity of convents, which had been despoiled of their wealth under the pretext that they offered a premium to laziness. Above all, it was natural that, at the cries of distress they heard arising on all sides from the wealthiest nations, they should ask each other whether the obvious derangement of the social machine, a derangement loudly proclaimed by philosophy and protestantism, although neither the one nor the other could indicate their cause, did not arise from the decay of the faith, and neglect of the precepts, of catholicism. Smith does not admit genius or science to come into the enumeration of riches. His disciples, Ricardo, M'Culloch, and Senior, amongst us, Say and Storch upon the continent, have acknowledged that the illustrious author of the *Essay on the Wealth of Nations* was deceived. The Catholic school now goes beyond them, and affirms, that the moral virtues, probity, chastity, and temperance, do as truly come into the catalogue of national riches as genius and science. —They may be wrong, and some of our readers will probably smile at their simplicity; for our parts, however, we can hardly refrain from admitting with them, that the girl who by her chastity exempts the parish from the burthen of maintaining an illegitimate child, is as useful a being as the producer of the thread wherewith the shirt of that child would have been sewn.

But, like all things in their beginning, the Catholic school has as yet not got beyond the first rudiments of its theories; and up to this time has done little besides pointing out the fatal consequences, that, with or without reason, it attributed to the prevailing doctrines, and seeking out means to ameliorate the fate of those poor who are unable to work or to live on the fruits of their labour. The most distinguished writer of this school is certainly the Viscount de Villeneuve Bargemont; and it is but just to say, that he has given proof, in his book entitled *Christian Political Economy*, of an immense knowledge of the practical part of his subject; and no one can have had greater advantages than he has in collecting the materials necessary for such a work. Auditor of the council of state under Napoleon, and sub-prefect at Zuricksee in Holland, promoted in 1812 to the prefecture of the mouths of the Ebro in Spain, prefect in 1815 of the department of Farn and Garonne in France, and afterwards successively of the departments of the Charente, of the Meurthe and of the Lower Loire, he was councillor of state and prefect of the department of the north—that is to say, of the most com-

mercial department in his country—when the revolution of July drove him from the administration. In possession of an independent fortune, and enjoying the most honourable reputation, he now devotes his leisure to the study of political economy; and the practical knowledge he has obtained in the discharge of his official duties, give a merit to his book which is wanting in most that are written on this subject.

In the beginning of his administrative career, M. de Villeneuve adopted the doctrines of Smith and of Say, the only political economists with whom he was as yet acquainted; but the works of Malthus afterwards shook all his preconceived ideas. In the first instance, as a patriot and a public functionary, he had wished to see in France an unlimited development of the factory system: afterwards he was led to suspect, that the extension of manufactories, by the indefinite multiplication of population, must, as a necessary consequence, tend to increase pauperism to an equal extent. This opinion, which was partly adopted during his administration of the agricultural provinces, gained strength as he studied more attentively the condition of the poorer classes; and became a certainty when the richest department of France, that which contains nearly half of its spinning factories, had been confided to his care. We give his own words on this subject:—

"It has been my fate to exercise administrative functions successively in each of the different parts of the kingdom; and at the beginning of 1828 I was promoted to the prefecture of the department of the north. I deeply regretted Brittany; but my regret was lessened by the hope that I should find in a department, which is known to have made greater progress than any other in agriculture, civilization, and industry, an enlightened, rich, and happy population, amongst whom misery, if not unknown, would at least be easy to relieve and to prevent—but these pleasant anticipations did not continue long. The morning after my arrival at Lille I received a visit from the managing commissioners of the hospitals of that city.—'Have you many poor?' I enquired of their venerable president. 'More than 32,000,' he replied, 'that is to say, more than half the population.' His reply struck me with such surprise and terror, that I requested him to repeat it, that I might be certain of his meaning. It may easily be believed, that, from this time forward, the pauperism of French Flanders became the object of my unceasing attention. The origin, the cause, and the effect of this dreadful leprosy, whose existence I had been so far from suspecting, were, from that time, the constant subject of my thoughts and enquiries. By degrees I discovered that misery was advancing with equal rapidity in Artois; and in part of Picardy and Normandy; that it had long seized upon many provinces of Belgium and Holland; and, in short, that the distress of the English workmen was now fully shared by those of the north of France and the Low Countries.

"I should vainly attempt to give any idea of the state of want, of suffering, and of abject degradation, moral and physical, in which the indi-

gent workmen were plunged in the principal towns in the department of the north. I refer enquirers to my work for details, which are too afflicting to be given twice."—vol. i. p. 16.

M. de Villeneuve was bound by his official duties to endeavour to take the best measures to relieve the destitute within his department, rather than to follow up theoretical enquiries into the causes of their number and situation. He had, however, presented to the minister for the interior a project for the colonization of the indigent of France, which had been suggested to him by an attentive study of the results obtained in the colonies of Frederick-Oords, in Holland, when the revolution of July, and his refusal to serve the new sovereign, gave him the necessary time and leisure to extend and arrange his observations :

"I did not, however, believe," he writes after the revolution, "that I had fulfilled the sort of special mission which each man receives from Providence ; I resolved to consecrate my leisure, and the little strength that was left to a shattered constitution, to a thorough investigation of the subject of pauperism, which the events of the times were constantly extending. In the bosom of a peaceful retreat, I endeavoured to call to mind my recollections and my experience ; I consulted in turn political economy; the philosophical theories upon civilization, statistics, legislation ; and those moral sciences which might have any connexion with the causes of indigence. At first, the horizon that offered itself to my attention seemed vague and immense. By degrees, and by the help of the brilliant light of Christianity, it seemed to me that one might clearly distinguish the causes of the moral and material disorders of society ; and that the principal facts arranged themselves naturally in classes : it became possible to generalize them, and to assign to them distinct principles; to observe and to compare their consequences; and, in short, to make a near approach, if not to attain, to the truth."—vol.i.p.20.

We perceive that in our author's views, *Christian Political Economy* is chiefly considered with a view to pauperism ; and we must observe, that the increase of national wealth is in his mind only of second-rate importance. He is alarmed at the calamities entailed upon a generation not far distant, by a constant increase of the indigent part of the community ; and the dangers which even now threaten property have the greater horrors for his imagination, because he wrote with the recollection of two revolts amongst the workmen of Lyons fresh in his mind. Thus, of the seven books of which his work is composed, the first only can be justly said to belong to political economy ; and even in that he does not for an instant lose sight of his favourite idea ; he considers the different agents of production only as they are connected with the amount of wages. And it is because, in his opinion, the accumulation and concentration of commercial capital, the universal use of machinery, and the formation of a new feudal system—whose barons would be bankers and manufacturers : their serfs the workman—would indefinitely

multiply the number of poor, that he opposes himself with vehemence, too often accompanied by exaggeration, to that system of commercial activity to which, however, England would still be indebted for her wealth, even although she should lay to its charge all the enormity of her poor's rates. But before we visit our author with the censure he justly deserves, for his blind antipathy to the factory system, we will explain the reasons upon which he has formed an opinion so opposite to all received notions. And we will begin by submitting to our readers the following statement of the poor who existed in Europe in 1830:*

Division of the Population into Kingdoms of Europe.		Population.		Manufacturing.		Agricultural.		Manufacturing Population to the Agricultural Population.		Manufacturing Population to the General Population.		Number of Indigents.		Number of Beggars.		Proportion of the Number of Beggars to the General Population.	
England	35,400,000	11,319	2,071	9,560,000	14,040,000	: 2 : 3	3,900,000	:: 1 : 6	200,000	:: 1 : 19	117	117	117	117	117	117	117
Germany	15,000,000	19,625	1,100	10,260,000	3,400,000	3 : 1	680,000	1 : 20	68,000	1 : 10	900	900	900	900	900	900	900
Austria	32,000,000	22,920	1,377	25,060,000	6,400,000	4 : 1	1,280,000	1 : 25	160,000	1 : 8	300	300	300	300	300	300	300
Denmark	2,500,000	9,075	275	2,000,000	500,000	4 : 1	100,000	1 : 25	10,000	1 : 10	250	250	250	250	250	250	250
Spain.....	13,000,000	16,053	805	11,585,333	2,316,667	5 : 1	450,000	1 : 30	90,000	1 : 05	154	154	154	154	154	154	154
France	32,000,000	26,837	1,912	25,500,000	6,400,000	4 : 1	1,600,000	1 : 20	188,153	1 : 8	166	166	166	166	166	166	166
Italy	19,044,000	15,014	1,509	15,870,000	3,164,000	5 : 1	750,000	1 : 25	150,000	1 : 5	186	186	186	186	186	186	186
Low Countries	6,143,000	5,700	2,274	2,401,000	3,682,000	2 : 3	877,000	1 : 7	60,000	1 : 1437.60	182	182	182	182	182	182	182
Portugal	3,580,000	5,680	937	2,941,665	586,635	5 : 1	141,000	1 : 25	28,000	1 : 5	121	121	121	121	121	121	121
Prussia	12,778,000	0,277	1,334	10,648,915	2,189,065	5 : 1	425,363	1 : 30	63,800	1 : 10	302	302	302	302	302	302	302
Russia	52,500,000	34,175	123	48,860,000	3,750,000	14 : 1	625,000	1 : 100	62,500	1 : 10	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
Sweden	3,866,000	3,700	1,045	3,092,800	773,200	4 : 1	154,600	1 : 25	15,460	1 : 10	243	243	243	243	243	243	243
Switzerland ..	1,714,000	1,660	1,058	1,142,666	571,334	2 : 1	171,000	1 : 10	11,400	1 : 15	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Turkey in Europe, &c.	9,500,000	25,223	331	8,312,500	1,187,500	7 : 1	142,500	1 : 40	14,250	1 : 10	166	166	166	166	166	166	166
Totals	296,475,000	102,168,651	92,301,177,569,879	46,928,121	10,897,353	1 : 34	10,897,353	1 : 30	8,101,191,763	1 : 9	8,111	8,111	8,111	8,111	8,111	8,111	8,111

The reader will scarcely appreciate the effect which was produced upon the imagination of the author by the results of the above tables, unless to these statistical details, which are so unfavourable to the richest countries in Europe, we add some remarks upon the state of France in particular. Amongst our neighbours manufacturing industry is very unequally divided; its principal seat is in thirty-two departments, situated for the most part to the north and east of the kingdom, the fifty-four others being exclusively dedicated to agriculture. If the general average of the poor is as one to twenty, this proportion does not give correctly the state either of the agricultural or of the manufacturing districts. Thus, in the department of the north the average number of poor is as one to six, and in the Pas de Calais as one to eight of the inhabitants; and in these two territorial divisions (the former especially) the manufacturing system has reached its highest point of prosperity. On the contrary, in the departments of Correze and Creuse, where there are no manufactories of any kind, the proportion of indigent is, in the first, one in forty-seven, in the second, one in fifty-six inhabitants. And M. de Villeneuve affirms, that if in the manufacturing districts a separation were made between the agricultural labourers they contain and those who work in the factories, the result for all France would be, one indigent out of five of the last, and only one in forty of the former. In France, therefore, the number of poor increases and decreases according to the preponderance of the factory over the agricultural population. The same remark applies to the crimes committed, and even to the physical infirmities of the people. Upon this last point much information may be derived from the conscription, which, under its present mitigated shape, furnishes some interesting documents concerning the health and conformation of young men who have attained the age of twenty. All, without exception, must be measured before the recruiting council, and examined by the surgeons who are attached to it; and in every point of view there is in the agricultural districts a superiority in physical strength, in morality, and in ease of circumstances; which is universally admitted. There are much fewer large fortunes, and consequently a much smaller circulating capital; but these provinces constitute the principal military strength of France, and their population is by far the most religious, and the most exempted from the vices which degrade humanity. The knowledge of these important facts, and perhaps also his habits of administration, often thwarted, and often alarmed by the seditious indocility of the French operatives, have naturally excited strong prejudices in the author against the excessive

development of the factory system; and the more so as his country cannot have the advantage of the extensive markets that are open to England in her Colonies. And even in those markets which are open equally to both countries, the greater skill of our manufacturers, and the immense capital they can command, give them a decided preference in most branches of industry. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that a French statesman should take alarm at an activity which produces a glut in the market at home; yet does not find a sufficient vent without. If we consider only the real advantage of France, opposed as she is to a nation with which she cannot successfully compete, except in the fabrication of a small number of articles of minor importance, we shall be a good deal disposed to agree with M. de Villeneuve. Undoubtedly the manufactories of France have made immense progress since 1815; her machines have been perfected, her artificers are less unskilful, the rate of interest lower, and had England remained stationary she might indeed have felt some uneasiness. But we, too, have advanced, and as long as we can undersell our neighbours, the progress they make can only serve to overstock their own market, and consequently to create a ruinous competition amongst their own manufacturers, which must reduce still lower the rate of wages. Even supposing that after new efforts, by withdrawing from agriculture the capital which it still requires, France should be able to fabricate goods as cheap as ours (surely she cannot hope to do more than this) what in fact would she gain? In the struggle that would then take place in every market in the world between her merchants and ours, supposing all else to be equal, success must depend upon the low price of labour; or, in other words, that country whose workmen could longest and most patiently endure hunger must in the end carry off the victory. In this race towards starvation, France must certainly give way the first, for she has not and cannot have the ruinous resource of a poor-tax, on account of the extreme subdivision of her landed property; and, moreover, with the factions that desolate her, and the levelling and democratic spirit of her people, the lower orders in France would not wait to attain so fatal a point,—they would rise against the government, be it what it might, and tear the wealth of the country from the hands of its actual possessors. Already is so much uneasiness excited by the temper of the workmen, that government has more than once acknowledged that the 400,000 soldiers who are so heavy a burden upon the tax-payers, are more necessary for the maintenance of internal tranquillity than for the defence of the national honour. What would be the fate of France if two bad harvests should suc-

sively aggravate the distress of the labourer? or if, which would come to the same thing, the price of food remaining stationary, their means of procuring it should be diminished by a further reduction in their gains? This must be the necessary result of the most splendid success that the manufacturers of France can possibly anticipate; can we, therefore, be surprised if a French political economist, sincerely anxious for his country's welfare, should recoil from such a prospect, and deprecate for his countrymen a preeminence which they would buy so dearly? We are convinced that the opinions of the author would be generally adopted on the other side of the channel, if it were not that an immense capital is already engaged in manufactories, and if France possessed a landed interest sufficiently enlightened to understand the dictates of sound policy, and sufficiently compact to make them prevail. But if the peculiar circumstances of France seem to point out to her that she should attach herself in an especial manner to the improvement of agriculture, and to the cultivation of her millions of acres of waste land, does it follow that manufactories with their machines, their innumerable workmen, or even those lords of the shuttle whom M. de Villeneuve holds in such horror, should be radically and essentially bad? Look at Ireland, almost wholly agricultural, and in which the author himself computes 1,833,631 indigent.* No doubt what he says is true, that the long oppression under which that land of misrule has lain groaning, and the system of absenteeism, are the principal causes of so much misery. But, although these causes are easily proved, it is equally evident that the deplorable condition of the Irish tenantry must continue as long as the same number of hands shall seek their sole employment in agriculture. Whether then the superabundance of labour exists in the fields, or in the factories, the effect is the same as respects the profits of the labourers; and they must submit to consequences, which, however fearful, can only be averted by an increase in the demand, or a reduction in the supply. It is because the introduction of manufactories upon a large scale in Ireland would divert into another channel a considerable portion of the labour, which hangs at present so heavily on the agricultural market, that what has perhaps proved injurious to France would diffuse comfort and plenty among the afflicted cottagers of Ireland. When a nation has more hands and more capital than are required for agriculture, it must, unless it would see a ruinous competition established amongst its labourers, open new markets for its superfluous industry; and M. de Villeneuve

* More accurate information shews that the indigent exceed 2,300,000.

admits this fact, and wishes to encourage in his country what he calls national manufactories; that is to say, manufactories that are chiefly employed in working up the indigenous raw material. But again we repeat it, that nation which has more hands and more capital than it can employ in agriculture or in national manufactures, must, upon pain of being exposed to a redundancy of labour, extend the sphere of its industry, so as to take in the raw material of foreign countries. Undoubtedly it will then find, that the only means of keeping up the rate of wages is by an immense exportation; and machinery will become indispensable: and then follow those giant factories where millions of workmen are congregated. In fact, it is impossible to command foreign markets, and to sell in them, under the form of merchandize, the superabundant labour of the country, without possessing the advantage of cheapness. Now, the factory system, superior machinery, and unbounded capital, can alone insure the necessary degree of cheapness to encounter the accumulated difficulties of freight, high duties, and foreign competition. This is the present situation of England; and whatever, in another point of view, may be the consequences of this situation, she would certainly expose herself to far greater dangers should she allow the present sources of her greatness to dry up. Should the commercial progress of rival nations succeed in limiting the demand for her cotton goods to that of home consumption, then wages will fall with frightful rapidity; for the operatives, whose labour was formerly exported, would fall back upon the other manufactories, and carry with them that depreciation of wages which redundant labour must occasion wherever it exists. We admit that the necessity in which England finds herself to undersell her competitors, now that they have not only increased in number, but also possess large capital with an improved and improving machinery, has had, and must continue to have, a fatal effect upon the earnings of the labouring classes. Betwixt one country and another, the abundance of capital and of combustibles, the profits of merchants, machinery, and the wages of the workmen, are the principal elements of the difference in the money price of merchandize; and where there is much competition, the workmen cannot receive high wages in that country which is to obtain the superiority in cheapness, unless the interest of money and the price of combustibles should be lower, the gain of the manufacturer less, and machinery less dear and more efficient.

According, therefore, as the rival nations shall develope their credit, and work their coal mines more skilfully; in proportion as they perfect their machines, and concentrate their manufactories,

and thus reduce the gains of each manufacturer so as to carry them over a larger mass of productions, we shall be obliged, in the same degree, to lower the wages of our artizans; a great misfortune, doubtless, but which cannot be imputed to any of the causes to which it is attributed by M. De Villeneuve. The first commercial country in the world cannot preserve the high position she has attained to, except by outstripping all her competitors in the career that she has entered; and, so far from the English workmen having anything to fear from the improvement of machinery, a monopoly in the inventions of another Arkwright would suffice to restore them to all the comforts of former times. We are, then, far from agreeing with our author in the general principles he lays down in his first book. We cannot agree with him, because, as we have said, with him the whole question of political economy turns upon the subject of pauperism; and, consequently, instead of seeking the causes of the increase of national wealth, his attention is occupied almost exclusively in finding means to diminish the suffering of the lower orders. This is, indeed, the peculiar characteristic of the Catholic school; and, in our opinion, the writers of that school have not sufficiently attended to the difference which most unfortunately does exist between the available wealth of a nation—that wealth which constitutes the strength of government, because it implies the power of paying enormous taxes—and the high price of wages. If we do not deceive ourselves, in the present state of the world, a great and progressive accumulation of capital, without a corresponding decrease in the comforts of the majority of the people, is a blessing which, however desirable, cannot be obtained by the utmost efforts of human ingenuity. The reason is this; the money price of the articles of subsistence consumed by the workman, is always higher in rich than in poor countries; for in the first, money being much more abundant, has a smaller relative value. Twenty per cent. would not be too high to estimate the difference there is with respect to the necessities of life, in the exchangeable value of money in France and England; so that, living in the first of these two countries, the workman requires only four fifths of the profits which, if he lived in the other, he must receive in order to obtain precisely the same quantity of comforts. Moreover, we cannot retain the monopoly of every open market in the world unless we are able to undersell our neighbours; that is, unless we can afford to sell our manufactured goods something under what to them would be a remunerating price; and, however small the reduction may be, it certainly is fully equal in value to another fifth of the labour exported. Thus the

French workmen have over ours an advantage of forty per cent., which they owe, first, to our greater wealth, and, secondly, to the necessity we are under of selling cheaper than any of our foreign competitors, in order to preserve our present proud pre-eminence, and continue to add to our existing capital. No doubt, if we were, as during the war, the only nation employing machinery and coals on a large scale, or if we had now, as then, the exclusive possession of the sea, this enormous difference would be more than compensated, and our operatives would have their due share in the general prosperity of the nation. Such unfortunately is not the case. Raw materials are now imported everywhere with equal facility, and, in some measure, our manufactory system, with its stupendous energies, has been adopted by every people that at all employ themselves with commerce. Our superiority, therefore, cannot be what it was in 1814. Though still great, it will not now enable our master manufacturers to give the same wages as formerly without the risk of no longer finding any foreign market for their surplus produce. The necessity they are thus placed under of curtailing the profits of their workmen, would not be much felt had not the competition between the manufacturers in France and Belgium caused a diminution in their wages and the price of their goods, which again, and in equal proportion, lessens the advantage we derive from the excellence of our machinery, the cheapness of our coals, and the yet unrivalled skill of our people. We have not now to undersell manufacturers who give enormous wages, we have to undersell manufacturers who give their artizans a bare subsistence; and thence it follows that our own have to endure such great and such inevitable privations. The advantages we possess must compensate for a loss of forty per cent (resulting, in the first place, from our wealth; in the second, from the condition on which alone we can hope to preserve that wealth) before our workmen can receive the equivalent in money of more than is allowed to their continental brethren. Their employers have no control over this great and primary cause of all their sufferings; and most reluctantly do we confess that we do not conceive the possibility of any permanent and real alleviation to a distress occasioned by the high price of provisions in England, combined with a corresponding distress in every country whose manufactories have outgrown the utmost limits of its own consumption. This is our position; and this will always be the position of a nation whose greatness is based at once on manufactories and foreign commerce, when she is surrounded by numerous and skilful rivals. She cannot extend her exportations and accumulate new capital, except by giving nearly the

same wages as they give: she will be forced to reduce them when they are reduced elsewhere; and, in the end, it will be much if the difference in the price of labour covers that of the relative value of money. If it were otherwise,—if, in a time of profound peace and growing prosperity for many commercial nations, the accumulation of capital by an immense export trade were compatible with high wages, the calculations we have borrowed from M. De Villeneuve's book would not show results so unfavourable for the richest nations of the world. Those which cannot find in foreign markets a sufficient vent for the superabundance of their produce, suffer from the excess of home competition; and that which surpasses them all in cheapness and in the excellence of means of production, suffers, in her turn, from being always obliged to undersell them, and therefore to reduce her prices as rapidly and as extensively as they reduce theirs. That there is comparatively, or rather, that there should have been in 1830, a smaller number of paupers in Spain than in England, can be a subject of wonder to no reflecting mind. The proverbial indolence of the Spaniard is a sufficient check against a redundancy of labour; and, as the supply is never equal to the demand, wages are too high to admit either of a lucrative intercourse with other countries, or the accumulation of an extensive circulating capital. In that country, which has for centuries been so badly governed, the higher classes are the greatest sufferers. As for artizans and labourers, they have each the certainty of finding an employer when he chooses it; and, except in a few instances, one might say, that almost all the misery existing there is voluntary. It is with commercial as with military supremacy. When keenly contested, both are won at a heavy cost; and, in the conquering army, whether victory be acquired by superior valour or by superior ingenuity, the heaviest loss falls always on the private soldiers.

But the consequences which result from a great accumulation of capital acquired by an immense export trade, are not an evil attaching exclusively to commerce. Agricultural countries, having a superabundance of production, and not being able to find foreign markets for their corn except at the lowest possible price, would be obliged to imitate the inertia of the Spaniard, or to reduce wages so as to sustain a competition ruinous to all parties: and this fact seems to have entirely escaped our author. However, we admit that this principal and most irremediable cause of the distress of the lower orders is not the only one; and we allow, with M. De Villeneuve, that there are secondary causes of a moral nature, by removing or diminishing which the condition

of the working classes might be greatly improved. We will enumerate them in his own words, reminding the reader that he is chiefly speaking of France;—

- ¶ “The different causes of public misery may be classed as follows:
- “ On the part of the poor,—
- “ 1. The want of employment, the inability or the refusal to work.
- “ 2. Immorality, ignorance, want of foresight, absence of religious feeling.
- “ On the part of the rich,—
- “ 1. Want of charity, egotism, cupidity, monopoly of land, of capital, and of commerce.
- “ 2. The excessive increase of manufactories.
- “ 3. The forsaking agriculture and national industry.
- “ On the part of government,—
- “ 1. The vicious construction or imperfections of public charitable institutions, and of legislation generally upon the subject of the indigent and paupers.
- “ 2. The abandonment of the principles of religion and charity, and the neglecting to introduce them into education, polities, morals, and institutions.
- “ 3. The want of sufficient protection to agriculture, national industry, and internal commerce.
- “ Lastly, on the part of charity herself, or rather of the persons who are actuated by her:—
- “ 1. The preference given to personal alms over labour and other means of help that might be afforded to the poor.
- “ 2. The habit, respectable, doubtless, but nevertheless faulty, of rather confining relief to immediate distress than seeking means for its future prevention.
- “ 3. The want of plan, of arrangement, and of general association in the practice of charity.
- “ 4. The delay or the negligence in appropriating for the relief of the poor, and in applying to institutions for charity and education, the improvements and discoveries that have been introduced into other establishments by political and domestic economy.”—vol. iii. p. 8.

It is easy to perceive in this summary the preference which the Catholic school gives to agriculture, and which, to say the least, is carried greatly too far. Another characteristic of this school may also be distinguished. It attaches great importance to the virtues inculcated by religion, to purity of morals, temperance, moderate desires, resignation, and charity; and that not only from the idea that they are indispensable to man's eternal welfare, but because they are necessary for the proper distribution and permanent increase of the wealth of the community. Our protestant friends may smile, perhaps, in pity, to learn that there are in France economists who have read Smith and Ricardo, Mill and McCulloch, Senior and Malthus, and

who yet believe in the temporal utility of the celibacy of the clergy; fancying that monastic orders, auricular confession, fasting, abstinence, and alms, contribute much to the progress of general prosperity; and who even insist that the pomp of Catholic worship, and (shall we own it?) the IDOLATROUS worship of images, are calculated to exercise an influence, that nothing else can replace, over the fine arts, and the manufactures which depend upon them. These are startling paradoxes, and yet those who advance them are not ignorant fanatics; they have lived in the world, and know it; and their minds are unbiased by the necessity of justifying any of the tenets of the Church to which they belong; for all lay down the principle, that the truth of no creed is to be tested by the effect it produces upon the earthly happiness of its followers. Thus, for instance, when they affirm the usefulness in this life of confession, they are downright utilitarians, and confine themselves as strictly as Jeremy Bentham could have wished to the natural results of the sacrament of penance with respect to the temporal welfare of society. Nay, they are not all Catholics; and, if MM. De Ville-neuve, Rubichon, and Raineville, profess the same faith with ourselves, MM. De Morogues, Huerne Pommeuse, and many other French economists, who agree with them in all respects, and whose works have lately appeared, have no pretension to the title of orthodox believers. Their agreement is, therefore, remarkable; and we could not account for it if the progress of pauperism in France inspired less terror in these latter writers. There are no poor taxes in France, and the sources by which they are replaced would be altogether insufficient, if private charity were not so extremely powerful as it is in that country. Some idea may be formed of this by the following account of the ways and means which, in the department of the north, are annually made applicable to the wants of an indigent population:—

	francs.	cents.
Offices for the distribution of charity	754,857	7
Municipal contributions	220,985	0
Hospitals for the sick, old people, and orphans	1,780,831	31
Hospitals for foundlings	240,000	0
 Total	<hr/> 2,996,673	<hr/> 38

The number of indigent inscribed upon the books of the offices for charity only (which, it should be stated, have the disposal of the municipal contributions) amounted, so long since as 1828, to 163,453. The following is an official account of them:—

1. Indigent on account of old age	6000
2. Indigent on account of infirmities	16,000
3. Indigent in consequence of misfortunes	12,000
4. From too large families	50,000*
5. From want, or from insufficiency of work	44,000*
6. Through misconduct	35,453

Total 163,453

Were a division to be made amongst this mass of poor, of the sums destined for their relief, it will be seen, that each individual would receive annually the sum of about four shillings,—and these insignificant alms have now become less, as the number of poor has greatly increased since 1830. In 1834, the author considered that the number of poor had already increased by two hundred and fifty-two thousand, out of which the department of the north had a large part. It is easy to imagine the alarm that is felt at such a rapid progression, and in this alarm the government fully participates, since every year it allows enormous sums for the execution of public works, avowing fairly, that their purpose is to give work to the lower orders. 100,000,000 francs were voted three years ago for that purpose,—and if it is impossible not to admit the excellence of such a system of charity, it is equally impossible on the other hand not to see that in the end it will constitute the heaviest item in the budget, if the misery occasioned by the want of work and the low rate of wages should continue to increase as rapidly as it has done since 1815. Those men who are determined at any price to oppose that destruction of the rights of property which the St. Simonians advocate, and who, nevertheless, have lost all confidence in the theories of the economists of Smith's school, from the mass of wretchedness which exists wherever those theories have been fully carried out, whether Catholics or not Catholics, are naturally seeking some other method; and the moral regeneration of the rich and of the poor, appears to them the *only means* of saving society from the most terrible catastrophes. It is evident that the American crisis, and the danger to which we have been more than once exposed by the complicated state of our currency, and the mania for speculations, have greatly contributed to fortify these new ideas. It is the prevailing notion of these bold innovators, that the very existence, even of nations the most advanced in arts and civilization, is now in the greatest danger, and they are disposed to sacrifice the exterior prosperity of France, in order to restore her that internal security, which

* Of these two classes, the half may consist of children.

they value more highly, and which she has lost. The dangers pointed out by M. de Villeneuve arise from two sources—first, the number of workmen fallen, no matter from what cause, into indigence; and secondly, the number of workmen who every year increase that amount; his great object is, therefore, to discover the best means to relieve the former, and to save the latter from the fate which hangs over them. For the first, such of them at least as are unable through age and infirmities to earn their bread, he recommends the establishment of asylums at the expense of the state, which should be sufficiently large, and sufficiently well-endowed, to receive them all. The author does not participate in the dislike felt by most of our political economists for these sort of establishments. He has a real respect for the poor; he respects them as a Catholic, who sees in them the suffering members of Jesus Christ: and here again the school to which he belongs reasons upon utilitarian principles. They maintain that the arguments made use of to demonstrate the necessity of depriving the lower orders of all resources but what they may find in their wages, can have no effect but that of exasperating and driving them to a sanguinary retaliation. As the insults continually offered to their improvidence or their distress, and the empty threat of leaving them to their fate, cannot in reality save the country a farthing, they ask if it would not be wiser to seek to inspire them with a sincere affection for the richer classes. Either, they say, the workmen must be reduced to a convenient number, by extermination, as the dogs are killed in hot weather when they become too numerous, or they must be so treated, that they may feel a sincere and lively gratitude to their superiors. The first method is impracticable; the Catholic school urges our having recourse to the second, and lays down upon this point the fundamental axiom, that *the poor love only those who love them*, and that such will have no cause to fear the effects of a misery which it had not been in their power to prevent. With a view to originate and develope this love of the rich in the poor, the author wishes to have established as many charitable commissions as there are parishes in France, who might assist all other classes of indigent, by finding work for such as want it, giving supplemental wages under particular circumstances, and in extreme cases, which are not likely to be durable, by giving immediate relief. These commissions, which would have no funds but what they derived from private charity, should all depend upon one central commission, to be established at Paris; and they would be composed of the most respectable persons in each district. It is superfluous to say that the clergy would have great influence in them, for the

author thinks it even more urgent to apply remedies to the moral than to the physical evils of the working classes. The idleness of some, the intemperance of others, and the want of economy and foresight in all, greatly contribute to their common misery; and it is by the aid of religion, and by appeals to their consciences, made through the intervention of a priest, that he hopes to amend vices so baneful and destructive to society. He has no confidence in the efficacy of any other method,—and he thinks, as we do, that the working classes will only laugh at the weakness of those who would preach up the virtues which are opposed to the interests of future generations, of the community at large, and even of the labouring classes themselves, deeply as they are interested, in not allowing the supply of labour to exceed the demand. It is true, that the rate of wages cannot be affected by the good or bad conduct of any individual. Wages will neither rise nor fall whether he has ten natural children for instance, or whether he has none: whether he is singular in having them or in not having them, his personal morality has no conceivable influence upon his earnings, present or future; but it does immensely influence his eternal happiness; and if he has faith, he will almost always yield to a motive so directly affecting his personal felicity. After all, why need the economist, even if an unbeliever, concern himself with the motive which is appealed to, provided it is adequate to free his country from the intolerable weight of illegitimate births? These births, in France only, amount to upwards of eighty thousand a year,—it will not therefore be too much to compute at eight hundred thousand the total number of labourers, male and female, who have been born out of wedlock. Suppose that in that country morals were so pure, that all the children could name their mothers without a blush, population would be the smaller by eight hundred thousand adults, and the demand for labour would exceed the supply.

M. de Villeneuve does not disclaim any of the other means devised latterly to teach the people habits of order and economy. He approves of the savings banks, and even of temperance societies,—but he considers them only as useful auxiliaries to religion, and it is from religion, and from her ministers, the unmarried clergy of Catholicism—who alone are without family ties, and who alone therefore can devote themselves entirely to the moral amelioration of the people—that he demands the salvation of France.

We shall not follow the author through the details he has given respecting the different sorts of misery now weighing like a nightmare over the nations of modern Europe, although these

details are most extensive and most interesting. He has made immense researches, not only in his own country, but also over all Europe; and we do not think there is a book in existence which contains so complete and full a statistical account of the actual miseries of humanity. On this head, his book leaves nothing to be wished for,—and the statesman, as well as the political economist, will find in it an ample harvest of facts and observations equally new and important. To the labourer, whom the declining rate of wages is hurrying so rapidly into misery, he always proposes the same remedy—religion, which will deliver him from factitious wants, and will increase his wages, by enabling him to use a rigorous economy in spending them. But not to the poor alone does he consider religion so necessary; he invokes it for the rich,—that if she teaches resignation to the one, she may moderate the avidity of the other by stimulating their charity; that by their disinterestedness, fortified by Christian philanthropy, the resignation of the poor may be made easier.

M. de Villeneuve is also most anxious for the execution of a great project, the colonization of all the uncultivated lands of France; and he proves, that if government would take this up, and distribute the millions of acres that now lie waste amongst those who are indigent for want of work, the redundancy of labour from which France is now so grievously suffering would presently disappear. He is not afraid of the expense of the plan, for he shews that it would be amply covered, partly by the new revenues that would accrue to the government, partly by the saving of expense to public and private charity. This part of the work is open to serious objections, which the reader will at once perceive,—we shall therefore close our review by a rapid sketch of the opinions of the Catholic school as respects pauperism.

These doctrines, as they are laid down in the small number of books and pamphlets which have up to this day been published in France by Catholic economists, have not as yet been collected in any one work. But, if we understand them rightly, they are all based upon the great historical fact, of the existence of slavery in every nation that had not received Christianity; and of the transformation which by slow and successive degrees the people underwent under the influence of Catholicism, from the slaves of ancient times, to free men enjoying all the rights of citizenship. Why, with the single exception of the vagabond tribes who lived by hunting and fishing, and were scarcely raised above the brutes in the scale of civilization, did there everywhere exist, before the coming of our Saviour, and why does there still exist in

many places, so large a proportion, very often the greater part, of the people, bowed down under the yoke of a detestable servitude? Why do the philosophers of antiquity, Plato as well as Epictetus, Zeno as well as Epicurus, all agree in considering slavery as a necessity inherent in the nature of all human societies, and not less indispensable to their existence than the right of property? And again, why did the slaves even in their most successful revolts, never think of protesting against the principle of slavery, and of invoking the rights of man? It is, reply the Catholic economists, because this odious institution was, in fact, what Aristotle believed it, a condition of existence for all these nations. They could not dispense with it, either for the interests of the masters, or even of the slaves themselves; for slavery is the poor-tax of those people who do not know the divine command of charity, or who are not so organized as to draw from it all the consequences to which it ought to lead. What must have become of the Roman or Athenian artisan in a year of famine, or when sickness hindered him from working, if he had not been able to sell his children, or himself? Who would have supported him or his family if he had received nothing from a patron or from the state? To have refused him the *privilege* of slavery would have been to condemn him to a death from starvation, whether his distress had been occasioned by misconduct, improvidence, or circumstances independent of his will. Had Christian charity been at hand to maintain him for a little while, till his strength returned, or till food became more abundant, or till he had obtained work, he might have lived and remained free; but charity was unknown to the pagans, and a few days are an eternity to the man that wants bread. They were therefore obliged to authorize slavery, as a safeguard from perpetual revolts,—or otherwise the poor, condemned by the decree of the rich to the sufferings of hunger, must have sought a quicker death, by the overthrow of the state. But when the principle of charity is reduced to a simple precept, it cannot suffice for the deliverance of the working classes. However charitable the rich man may be, he has other duties to fulfil than that of exploring the depths of human misery; and he has not the time to weigh with attention the claims of those who entreat his compassion. It will generally happen that the most importunate receive his assistance, and that his means are exhausted before the *real* poor can reach him: moreover, the real objects of charity have wants that daily change; their number varies in different places and in different years: it will also generally happen, that the district or parish which contains the most poor, contains the fewest rich inhabitants; and individual charity can

neither go to a distance to seek out its proper objects, nor to prepare help for future generations. Therefore, that charity may be efficacious—that she may not fritter away her funds—but may have sufficient for all lawful demands, she requires the assistance of men, who shall make the care of the poor their special occupation—who can distinguish between truth and imposture—and who are the regular receivers and distributors of the offerings of the rich. These men must form a corporation, which never dies, that the stamp of perpetuity may be placed upon such of their acts as are done with reference to the good of posterity : they must also be brought by their other duties into constant contact with the rich ; neither below them, nor above the poor, that they may be intermediate between both, soliciting from the one in the name of the other, and looked upon by all with equal confidence. But can this confidence be obtained by married men ? Will not the rich fear that their gifts will go to enrich the wife and children of the receiver, if he has a family, or to feed his luxury if his profession allow him the same enjoyments as to other men ?—and may not the poor, to whom he can never give all that they will ask, entertain the same suspicion ? Let us not forget that he must have a discretionary power; he will have secret misery to relieve ; and the necessity of keeping accounts of his receipts and expenditure would be alone sufficient to prevent his accepting an employment entirely optional, and which can never be forced upon him. The Jews had, indeed, received the precept to love their neighbours ; but they had no corporation possessing the requisites we have here enumerated ; and on this account, the principle of slavery, the right of man to alienate his own liberty, subsisted amongst them. If, say the Christian economists, the Catholic Church succeeded at length in abolishing this frightful necessity, it is because she possessed what was wanting under the Mosaic dispensation—an unmarried clergy, whose members—dispersed over all parts of Catholic countries—the natural confidants and consolers of all that were in grief—the necessary visitants of all that were in sickness—having no other families than their flocks—and cut off by the austerity of their calling from all expensive pleasures—were wonderfully adapted to this service of charity, which forms one of their principal functions. No doubt many deceived the confidence inspired by their holy ministry; but the bulk of the clergy must necessarily have deserved that confidence, which by a few may have been put to scandalous uses ;—they were the exceptions which confirmed the rule, and the rule is abundantly exemplified in history. Those Christians who separated from the Church of Rome before the conquest of civil liberty, the

Greeks in Russia and the East, and the Eutychians in Abyssinia, have not made one step towards the emancipation of the working classes; yet these classes had long been free in the west of Europe when Luther appeared. The Reformation, then, has done nothing for the overthrow* of slavery in those countries from whence it has disappeared; the honour of this great work belongs entirely to the Catholic Church,—and the Catholic Church could never have worked such a prodigy, if an immense majority of her clergy had not worthily fulfilled their mission.

But the Church could not at her birth have proclaimed universal emancipation without culpable imprudence; it was necessary that her priests should be spread abroad wherever there were poor; that the rich themselves should be penetrated with the maxims of the Gospel; that hospitals should be founded, and large sums amassed, before civil liberty could become a real benefit to the slaves: it was also necessary that they themselves should be gradually trained to the new existence which the Church was preparing for them; that together with their improvidence, they should lose the vices inherent in their state of degradation. Thus, universal emancipation, which was impossible without the assistance of a clergy so constituted as that of the Catholic Church, could not even with that assistance take place until after the lapse of many generations. And this explains why amongst those nations which were the last to join the Catholic unity, the Poles and the Hungarians, slavery still existed, at the time when Protestantism came to paralyze, even in Catholic countries, the progress of the Church. Time had been wanting to her. Thus the Catholic Church authorized in the first instance, and was bound to do so, the principle of slavery, until the slaves themselves were able to dispense with this frightful poor-tax; but she immediately gave her attention to their fate, making it an obligation upon their masters to treat them with gentleness, and multiplying their days of rest, under the name of *religious festivals*.

* The stat. 1 Edw. VI. cap. 3, singularly illustrates the theory mentioned in the text:—after reciting the *foolish pity and mercy* of those who ought to have suppressed vagabondry, and stating, that “*if they should be punished by DEATH, whipping, or imprisonment,...it were not without their deserts, and would be for the benefit of the commonwealth....yet it is desirable they be made profitable.*” The stat. enacts, “*that any person idling and loitering for three days, should be marked with hot iron on the breast with the letter V....should be a slave for two years....should be fed with bread, water or small drink, and refuse meat....should be made to work by beating chains or otherwise....be the work never so vile....if absent fourteen days during the two years, be branded on the forehead or ball of the cheek with hot iron, with the letter S, and to be a SLAVE FOR EVER: if he run away a second time, to be a felon.*” This was the third legislative act of the youthful head of the Anglican Church; the second being “*An Act for the Election of Bishops*” by THE KING.

In this manner the gains of the master were doubly diminished,—the slave cost more and worked less; so that the first, no longer receiving the same benefit, nor the second enduring the same suffering from slavery, both came, in the end, to look with a sort of indifference upon the triumph of civil liberty. But for these precautions, frightful catastrophes must have accompanied that triumph; for the murders and burnings which, in modern times, desolated St. Domingo, would have been carried on on an immense scale. By degrees, as charitable funds accumulated, and the education of the slaves improved, the Catholic Church took bolder steps for their deliverance. So early as the eleventh century, Pope Alexander III proclaimed that civil liberty was the right of ALL Christians; and the whole discipline of Catholicism seems calculated to procure it for them. Amongst those who ridicule the doctrine of purgatory, there are certainly not a few whose ancestors owed their enfranchisement to that belief; for there was no practice more common (as may be seen from the formularies of Marculphe) than to give slaves to the Holy Virgin, to St. Peter, or to some other saint, in order to obtain the repose of a soul whom the donor believed to be in Purgatory; this gift implying that of liberty to the slave. Thus gradually, without political convulsion, without, in fact, its being observed by the world, they were transformed into free labourers; so free, that the right of selling themselves was taken from them. But the Church thus contracted an immense responsibility towards them. They would have cursed her, if, by the new privileges with which they were invested, they had been placed in danger of wanting the bread which, although bitter, was abundant in their slavery.

Never can charity, however powerful, secure the existence of workmen whose labour does not suffice for their ordinary wants. She may take charge of widows and orphans, of the infirm and the sick, and of those who require temporary assistance in temporary difficulties; but this is all. The Church had, then, two things to do; in the first place, so to organize charity as that it should afford protection only to the real poor; in the second, to watch that the price of labour should be as high as possible. The first of these two duties her ministers fulfilled with ease. The clergyman of each parish knew all the inhabitants of it; he could not be deceived respecting them; and his influence was so much the more useful, as he could threaten to leave to their fate such families as were, through their own misconduct, in danger of indigence. How many illegitimate births may have been prevented; how many improvident marriages given up, or at least postponed, at the voice of the pastor? Thus was ensured an extreme economy in the distribution of relief, and a check

which can only be exercised by an unmarried clergy. Nor did the Church act less wisely with respect to the rate of wages. The old Dutch East Indian Company, in order to keep up the price of their spices, burned a part of those which they gathered in abundant years. The Church did the same; she consumed a part of the labour of the workmen by the multitude of her religious festivals; and the labourer then sold his remaining working days more dearly than he would have sold the whole year of labour, if he had consented to work all the year: and in the pomp of these festivals were held out to him unexpensive enjoyments, which turned his mind from more costly pleasures. The Church had nicely calculated that the labourer should *gain the most and expend the least* that was possible. The Catholic economists assert, that the Reformation, by suppressing ecclesiastical celibacy, has rendered powerless the different clergy which it has created; and that, by suppressing festivals, it has brought into the market that superabundance of labour which is now mistaken for a redundancy of population; for, supposing, in addition to the fifty-two Sundays, fifty-two festivals in the year, the catholic workman would only carry five days of the week into the labour market; and, as the Protestant workman carries six, whatever nation became Protestant, did, in fact, increase the general amount of its labour by one fifth. The countries in which the Reformation prevailed, could, in consequence, pay smaller wages, and undersell their rivals; thus accumulating the capital with which they afterwards founded immense factories. The manufactories of Italy and Spain were crushed. Those of Belgium lost their ancient splendour; and those of France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fell again into a state of languor. Another cause both of ruin and of prosperity was added to this: the Protestant workmen, whose religion is so destitute of pleasure, sought for other and dearer amusements; he consumed more, and he laboured more. At first, indeed, his wages rose, while the real value of his labour fell; for he gave a larger portion of it each day for the money he received. This was an additional fatigue to him, and soon it was no longer a profitable one, for to sustain their competition with Protestant countries, Catholic manufacturing nations, in the end, gave up their festivals, and in respect of industry became Protestant. Thus the barriers which the Catholic church wisely established against the redundancy of labour, and its consequent depreciation, have been every where broken down. Every where the workman carries the same number of days' labour into the market, and every where there

is a superabundance of working hands and a depreciation of the price which they receive, which takes from Protestant countries the advantages they enjoyed, while they alone limited the rest of the workmen to the Sunday. "Suppress," say the writers whose views we are now stating, "the rest of the Sunday, and the condition of the workmen will become intolerable, and poor-taxes will shortly absorb the whole revenue of the land."

The Catholic writers, therefore, look upon the working-classes as the representatives of the slaves of former times, and consider that they cannot retain their liberty—or, at least, cannot retain it upon such terms as to make it advantageous to them—except with the help of those institutions, by means of which they first acquired it. We will not go farther in our exposition of a system which appears to us more open to objections in its practical part, than in its theory. We have wished to give to our readers a sketch of the new views which are now taken by men of indisputable merit. They acknowledge frankly that the remedies they propose can scarcely by possibility be adopted in the present state of the world; and they hardly attempt to conceal the sadness of their forebodings as to the future destiny of society.

ART. IX.—*Descent of the Danube, from Ratisbon to Vienna, during the Autumn of 1827, with anecdotes and recollections, historical and legendary, of the towns, castles, monasteries, &c. upon the banks of the river, and their inhabitants and proprietors, ancient and modern.* By J. R. Planché, author of "Lays and Legends of the Rhine," "Oberon," an Opera, &c. 8vo. London. 1828.

2. *A Steam Voyage down the Dunube, with Sketches of Hungary, Wallachia, Servia, Turkey, &c.* By Michael J. Quin, Author of "A Visit to Spain." Third edition, with additions. In two volumes. Post 8vo. London. 1836.
3. *Austria and the Austrians.* In two volumes. Post 8vo. London. 1837.
4. *Three Voyages in the Black Sea to the coast of Circassia: including descriptions of the ports, and the importance of their trade, with sketches of the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the Circassians.* By the Chev. Taitbout de Marigny, Consul of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, at Odessa. 8vo. London. 1837.

5. *Travels in Circassia, Krim Tartary, &c. including a Steam Voyage down the Danube, from Vienna to Constantinople, and round the Black Sea, in 1836.* By Edmund Spencer, Esq. Author of "Sketches of Germany and the Germans," &c. In two volumes. 8vo. London. 1837.
6. *Report on the Commerce of the Ports of New Russia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, made to the Russian Government, in 1835, in pursuance of an investigation, undertaken by order of Count Woronzow.* Translated from the original, published at Odessa, by T. F. Triebner. Post 8vo. London. 1836.
7. *A Geographical, Statistical, and Commercial Account of the Russian Ports of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azoph, and the Danube; also an official Report of the European Commerce of Russia, in 1835.* From the German. With a map. 8vo. London. 1837.

WE have now before us the materials, which, until the publication of Mr. Spencer's work, our literature, or indeed that of any other nation, had not before acquired, for a complete description of the Danube and its borders, from its fountains in the Black Forest to the Black Sea. We are relieved also, chiefly by Mr. Spencer's assistance, from the labour of consulting numerous volumes, in order to obtain some idea of the principal ports of the Euxine; of the "wild and wondrous" scenery which characterizes its shores; of the various tribes of the human family by which those shores are occupied; and, above all, of the revolutions which the miraculous agency of steam is preparing throughout that world of waters—a world hitherto almost as unknown as America was before the discoveries of Columbus.

Fifty years ago, the Turkish flag alone waved in the Bosphorus, the Euxine, and the Danube. Russia, by the treaty of Kainardji, obtained the right of navigating that sea in 1774. A similar privilege was conceded to other countries about thirty years afterwards; but it was frequently interrupted by war, or by the caprice of the Turkish government, until 1829, when by the arrangements concluded at the peace between Russia and the Porte, the passage through the Hellespont and Bosphorus was opened for ever to the mercantile flags of all nations. Nevertheless, down to a very late period—we might say so late as four years ago—nothing was known of the vast resources presented to commercial enterprize by the first river in Europe. The populous cities, towns, and villages, the dense forests, the teeming fields, along its borders of full sixteen hundred miles in

length, seemed to have been wrapped in a universal lethargy, and so they would doubtless have remained hibernating for centuries yet to come, had they not been touched by the wand of that enchanter, who is now traversing all lands and waters, and summoning them to new stages of existence, that as we rise with them, still, like new Alps, rise higher above our heads, baffling all conjecture as to the destinies to which they may ultimately lead.

It was curious to hear—as it was our fortune to have heard—some of the countless objections that were at first urged against the plans of those men, who introduced the steam-boat in the eastern waters of Europe. The Austrians were too poor, the Hungarians too lazy, the Servians too ignorant, the Turks too sedentary, the Wallachians too barbarous, the Greeks too contemptible, to afford it anything like adequate support; and the Moscovite, bearing with all his weight upon the failing energies of the Sultan, ambitious to grasp the whole power and monopolize all the commerce upon which he could lay his colossal arm, from the Baltic to the Dardanelles, would never, it was said, permit that element to contend against him, which, once set in motion, he could never hope to control.

The very first steamer that went down the Danube, set the question at rest as to the profits of the speculation. The eyes of the apathetic Austrian were opened, when he found it returning with a cargo that ensured him, upon a moderate calculation, seven per cent. upon his shares. Before the end of the first season, that seven was raised to ten. The Hungarian, who, when he first saw the tall sooty cylinder shooting its column of smoke into the air, and leaving a long track of mysterious cloud behind it, ran away into his hut or his forest as if he had beheld a demon, anticipated even the Austrian in leaping on the deck, and revelling in the luxurious rapidity with which he was conveyed, even against the current, from Moldava to Presburg. The Servian and the Wallachian, with a shrewdness for which they had before obtained no credit, saw at once that the new political existence which they had acquired, would soon be converted into real independence by the aid of that friendly visitor. The Russians speedily found out, that the game was of that sort at which two could play, and built a fleet of steam-boats of their own. Without the Birmingham engine, that despiser of protocols, Greece, though elevated diplomatically to the rank of a kingdom, would have already fallen back into anarchy. And as to the "sedentary" Turks, let Mr. Spencer be heard, immediately after he enters the "Crescent," an English steamer, on its way, not along the Turkish coast of the Danube, where the auto-

maton had already ceased to be a novelty, but from *Varna* to *Trebizond* :—

“ The ‘Crescent’ was literally filled with passengers: the greater number Turks. The passion of these people for travelling in a steam-boat, who at first would not enter one, is now so great, that it may almost be termed a mania; but this is in consonance with the general tenor of their character; when once excited by any new change, or popular reform, their enthusiasm knows no bounds. I have seen the steam-packet bureaus in Constantinople besieged by multitudes in search of tickets, having no more important business than the enjoyment of an agreeable trip; and never was a Margate steamer, in the height of the season, more densely crowded than those which leave Constantinople. You may, therefore, easily imagine what a lucrative speculation the navigation of these seas by steam has been for the proprietors. To a European it was not a little amusing to observe their movements on deck: each Turk, armed with his little carpet, provender-bag, and tchibouque, appeared the very picture of contentment.”—vol. ii. p. 187-8.

So much for the Turk, whose modern antipathy to locomotion was represented to be as invincible as his propensity to emigration was at the Hegira! In the same “Crescent,” moreover, were assembled Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, in their varied costumes, turbans, and caps, of both sexes, and of every age and tongue.

“ Surely,” adds Mr. Spencer, “the world has never witnessed an invention better adapted than steam to connect the inhabitants of the earth by the same ties of religion, habits, customs, and manners; in one word, to effect a complete moral revolution. Its influence has been already felt by the benighted inhabitants of those beautiful countries on the banks of the Danube; and, if to this we add rail-roads, with their steam-carriages, which, from their convenience and celerity, must, in process of time, become universal, what may we not expect in a few years?

“ Do we not already see the whole of the nations of the East, wherever the arms of Europe or her commerce have penetrated, beginning to evince a taste for European habits? They are partial to our clothes, furniture, and even fashions. In the Ottoman empire we find not only the Sultan, but his grandees, who only a few months since ate with their fingers, and sat upon the ground, now making use of tables, chairs, knives, forks, and spoons, and furnishing their apartments with costly looking-glasses, chiffoniers, secretaires, chests of drawers, &c.: and I assure you, in a few years, we shall find that they will entirely conform to the customs and manners of Europe. At present I do not know a speculation more likely to prove profitable, than to send cargoes of furniture to Constantinople, and other large towns in Turkey and the East; and any of my mercantile readers who may act upon this hint, will remember with gratitude the writer of these letters.

"In short, a volume would scarcely suffice to tell the advantages of steam, and the consequences it is likely to produce. Even now, a man leaving London is carried into the heart of Germany by steam; he has then only to take post and traverse Bavaria and part of Austria to Vienna, where steam-boats are waiting to carry him to Constantinople. This immense distance, the most agreeable tour that can be performed, may be completed at a trifling expense, and in the short space of, at most, twenty days, without the slightest fatigue, not even the loss of a single night's rest.

"What other mode of travelling than steam could unite the various nations by which I am now surrounded—circumcised and uncircumcised mingling together in the happy bonds of fellowship? Before the appearance of steam-boats in these seas, Franks were regarded by the blinded fanatic followers of Mahomet as barbarians; now they are lauded to the skies: here, I have been travelling for days in the company of a Turk; we ate out of the same provender-bag, drank out of the same cup, and felt for each other the same kindly feelings of the sincerest friendship."—vol. ii. p. 189-190.

Five years ago, there was not a single steam-boat to be seen in the Euxine. There are now eight or ten established at Odessa and Sebastopol, which ply between those ports and Galatz, Varna, Trebizond, Constantinople, and Smyrna. Three years ago, the communications between Constantinople and Smyrna were kept up by means of a solitary packet, which sometimes, with favourable winds, completed its voyage in seventy hours, but frequently, in consequence of the very changeable breezes in the Archipelago, was a week or a fortnight, or even longer, upon its way. The fares were so high that few persons availed themselves of this conveyance; and it was at length given up. Lately two steamers have been put upon that station. They accomplish the voyage in thirty hours with certainty, and the greatest facility. While we are writing, the Turkish watermen of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, a numerous race, comprising from fifteen to twenty thousand men, and reputed to have inherited all the fanaticism of the extinct Janissaries, are in mutiny against the power of steam, which threatens, they say, to consign them and their families to ruin. In consequence of their hostility, the steamers between Constantinople and Smyrna have been compelled to suspend their operations. This is one of the checks which the progress of civilization is destined uniformly to encounter; but no arm—not all the population of Stamboul combined—can now repel for any considerable time this vital power from those seas.

There is no nation to which the steam-boat is more essential, or upon which it has already, considering the brief period of its existence there, conferred more signal advantages, than upon

Greece. Horace's ode, "Prensus in *A*geo," has celebrated the variable character of the winds, and the manifold perils attending the navigation, of that part of the Mediterranean. Those difficulties and dangers may now be said to exist only in his poetry. Three years ago, if a traveller desired to proceed from Smyrna to Napoli, or the Piræus, he might have deemed himself fortunate if he had not to wait three weeks for a small bark between the former port and Hydra; the passage thither would have cost him at least three weeks more, and at Hydra he would still have had to confide in fortune for the discovery of some coaster which might enable him to accomplish his object! The whole voyage is now performed in thirty hours. At this moment steamers may be seen smoking in all directions to or from the Piræus. An *omnibus* conducts the traveller in two hours from the port to Athens, over a Mac-Adamised road, which three years ago was a wretched bridle path, interspersed with brushwood and rocks! A railroad will soon convey him over the same interval in twenty-five minutes. The consequence of these changes is already simply this—that round the Piræus, where four years ago scarcely even a hut was to be seen, a *town* has already grown up; and Athens itself, which the Turks left a pile of ruins, is at this moment one of the most beautiful capitals in Europe!

But the perfection of this mighty innovation, in our opinion, consists in the fact, to which Mr. Spencer has alluded, that wherever it appears, the spirit of constant, untiring improvement, which peculiarly characterizes the civilization of England, is sure to follow in the wake of the paddles. The complaint of the caique owners and rowers in the Bosphorus, is not so much that their trade is injured by the steam-boats; on the contrary, the truth is, that the facility thus given to strangers to visit the "City of the Sultan," has very materially increased their trade. It is their prejudices which have taken the alarm. They behold a foreign *power* in activity before their eyes, which menaces the destruction of their ancient habits, is already breaking up their barbarous circle of ideas, is undermining their religion, and must affect their entire existence as a portion of a people who have always considered themselves as only "encamped" in Europe. The Turks, in general, begin to see that either they must quit Europe or become Europeans. The feeling manifested on the Bosphorus has shown itself with equal force upon the Danube. Had the Austrians not possessed the right, by positive treaty, to the free navigation of that river, the steam-boat never would have been allowed to pass Belgrade in 1834. Even in 1836, Mr. Spencer mentions an impediment, which is in every way characteristic of all the parties engaged.

"Upon approaching the Turkish fortress Neu-Orsova, an officer belonging to the garrison hailed the vessel, and informed us that unless we were provided with a firman we could not pass: this intelligence was anything but agreeable, for neither the captain nor any of the passengers, possessed the desired document. The matter was long debated between the captain of the steam-boat and several Austrian officers, passengers; and at length it was agreed that we should return to Alt-Orsova till the firman could be procured. I found, however, that the captain, a very spirited man, was inclined to go forward, on the ground that permission had been already generally accorded for the free navigation of the Danube; I therefore proposed to the Austrian Major, that we should proceed together to the fortress, and learn from the Pacha himself the cause of our detention. After long debating the matter, *pro* and *con*, like a true German, he at length consented; and accordingly, attended by an officer of the sanitary guard, we set off for the fortress, a miserable half-ruined building.

"We were immediately introduced to the Pacha, a fair-complexioned fine-looking man, about forty years of age, with a most patriarchal beard; he was dressed in the Turkish uniform, a dark blue frock coat, light blue pantaloons, and a red cloth cap with a very large blue silk tassel. He received us most affably, and his manners would have done no discredit to a courtier of St. James's. Previous to commencing our negotiation, coffee was brought in, which, as is invariably the case in Turkey, was excellent, and served in a style of much elegance. The tray was covered with an embroidered napkin, edged with silver fringe; and the cups, of the finest Chinese porcelain, rested upon silver stands.

"The Austrian officer, who spoke the Turkish language fluently, introduced me to the Pacha. The worthy Turk, upon learning that I was an Englishman, received me with the most marked courtesy; and when we had taken coffee and smoked our *tchibouques*, we related the object of our mission, to which he listened with the most polite attention. After deliberating a few minutes with his officers, he replied, that he had received instructions from his government not to permit any foreign vessel to pass down the Danube without a firman; 'but,' continued he, smiling, 'my orders do not include a mandate to fire, in case you choose to proceed on your own responsibility. In that event, however, I shall send an express to my superior officer, the Governor Pacha of Widdin.' We then made our *congé* and departed.

"Upon detailing the particulars of our interview to the remainder of the passengers, they with one consent announced their intention of quitting the boat. 'What!' said the well-trained Austrians, 'journey on in open defiance of established authority? Impossible. Suppose the Pacha should take it into his head, that sending a few bullets at ours was a duty incumbent upon him, are we to sacrifice our lives for a foolish firman? No. Proceed, captain, if you will; but we must, though very reluctantly, bid you adieu;' and they instantly quitted the vessel, leaving me not only to the enjoyment of a hearty laugh with the captain at their expense, but also the honour of being the first traveller who had

journeyed down the whole of the lower Danube in a steam-boat to the Black Sea."—vol. i. pp. 66-8.

This was a capital scene. We have here the experienced enterprise of England laughing at imaginary dangers; the obtuse obedience of Austria recoiling from a conflict with established authority, and Turkey hesitating between her waning ignorance, her natural benevolence, and her nascent hopes of a new era, the importance of which she does not as yet comprehend. As usual, victory crowns the cylinder,—and on it goes, smoking its way, to the astonishment, and doubtless to the admiration, even of those whom it left behind.

The Danube preserves almost throughout its course a striking uniformity, as well in its defects as in its perfections. Above Vienna as far as Ulm, where it begins to be navigable, we observe a strong family resemblance between its sudden windings, its numerous sand-banks, its rapids, its tranquil lakes, without any egress apparent to the navigator in the first instance, its division into minor streams, its expansion into floods that roll along in unrivalled grandeur, its sublime rocky boundaries, its marshy desolate shores, and those which are seen in the lower part of the river from Vienna to Galatz. The ruined fortress at Hayenbach, near the Austrian frontier, forms a promontory, round which the river, wheeling suddenly, enters a romantic defile, and returns so rapidly towards the preceding portion of its channel, that after the promontory is passed, the quadrangular tower of the ruin presents its northern side to the eye in apparently the same situation that it presented its southern side ten minutes before. A bend, exactly similar to this, though on a larger scale, takes place below Orsova, near the frontier of Wallachia, where it almost doubles on its previous course, retrograding towards Moldava, behind the mountains which stretch across the north-east angle of Servia.

The defile which the Danube enters after passing Hayenbach, is called by the peasantry of the district the "Schlagen." It is composed of numerous crags, piled one upon another, to the height of from three to four hundred fathoms, which almost close above the head of the voyager, and nearly shut out from him the daylight for a whole hour. Gorges exactly resembling this are penetrated by the river near Grein, in Upper Austria, near Durrenstein, where Richard Cœur de Lion was imprisoned, and at the Castle of Kolubatz, at a short distance below Moldava. The labyrinth of islands between Aschach and Ottensheim has its counterpart below Kubin; the sand-banks near Steyereck may be said to be repeated between Vienna and Presburg when the river is low; and the rapids called the "Strudel" and

“ Wirbel,” not far from Grein, differ little from those which the Danube exhibits between Moldava and Swivich, and at the entrance of the celebrated Iron Door.

We know not whether we are to impute it to Mr. Spencer’s good fortune, that by embarking on the Danube early in the month of April, 1836, when the river was swollen by the melting of the snows on the mountains, he was enabled to accomplish his voyage to the Black Sea without encountering any of the difficulties which Mr. Quin describes as the attendants of his expedition in the latter part of September 1834. There is, however, a pleasure in encountering and conquering the obstacles that occasionally interrupt one’s journey, which none but a mind fond of adventure can appreciate. Besides, these breaks upon the smoother part of life throw a man upon his resources, and lead him into bye-scenes, and to an acquaintance with local peculiarities, which help him to make a full picture where the more speedy traveller can at the most only trace an outline. Mr. Spencer’s account of the Danube is a very faint outline indeed. As to the author of *Austria and the Austrians*, (Mr. M’Gregor) his excursion on the river extended from Vienna to Siliestria,—but he gives scarcely any details of his voyage. Between Mr. Quin’s work and that of Mr. Spencer, the public, however, have at least some means of acquiring information relative to the steam navigation of that important stream. The former, beginning at Pesth and ending at Rutschuk, describes undoubtedly all that the banks of the Danube can boast of in the way of striking scenery,—and all that it had, and may in dry seasons again have, to present, in the shape of difficulties from shallows and sand-banks. The latter was borne on a full tide from Vienna to the Black Sea. From his production, travellers may learn what they have to expect from a voyage made in the early part of the season,—that is to say, almost as soon as the ice, which suspends the navigation of the Danube during winter, shall have broken up, and left the channel free from every species of impediment.

We consider it no trifling item in the consequences likely to arise from the opening of this mighty river to the enterprise of commercial nations, that it must inevitably arouse Austria from the political lethargy in which she has been prostrated since the destruction of Napoleon’s empire. Since that epoch, the power of Russia has gone on increasing enormously every year; Prussia has, by active organization at home, and the diffusion of her commercial system over a great portion of Germany, acquired a station, and a degree of influence in Europe, which already places her by the side of Russia,—while the authority

formerly wielded by the house of Hapsburg, has been constantly on the decline. It is of great importance to the interests of England, that that authority should be restored,—and, if possible, enlarged. It has been remarked by many travellers who have recently visited Austria, that she alone of all other nations, Spain and Portugal excepted, presents no symptoms of that spirit of improvement, which is the great characteristic of the age. Some writers have gone still farther, and have administered to what we hope we may now call the fading prejudices of Englishmen against all Catholic countries, by representing Austria, and especially Vienna, as immersed in ignorance and superstition, and in vices of the most degrading character. Upon these latter points we have, from opportunities of personal observation, formed very different opinions, which Mr. M'Gregor, already favourably known to the public by his work on Canada, enables us to confirm to their fullest extent, although with an inconsistency which can scarcely be excused, he repeats, in several instances, the libels of the very writers whom his own evidence condemns.

If a court may be supposed to exercise any influence upon a nation, it must be admitted, we think, that there is no family seated on a throne whose morals are more pure, whose attention to all the duties of religion is more uniform and sincere, than that of the reigning family of Austria.

" Among themselves, the imperial family live as if they were private citizens. The empress drives out in her chariot with a lady companion, both very plainly but very neatly attired. The few persons who happen to be promenading at the time on the terrace of the garden, usually walk quietly up to the unshowy palace door, when they see the imperial carriage drive up, to have a look, within a few feet, of one or both of their majesties, who go daily unattended by guards, and neither by night nor day ever entertain the idea of being injured.

" The court gaieties are almost limited to a few formal balls and receptions during the Carnival; and for society, the imperial family limit themselves chiefly to the domestic circles of its numerous members, who live with each other in the most affectionate harmony. They are strictly Catholics in their devotions. The late emperor enjoined this by precept and by example. If there be but one virtuous court on earth, that court is assuredly found at Vienna; and if the character of a court give at all times a tone to public manners, those of Austria must be considered chaste, unostentatious, unexpensive, and strictly domestic.

* * * * *

" At Vienna, and wherever the court resides, every member of it assiduously promotes public and private benevolence; and, although they usually shun the gayer pleasures, they are, I am told, scarcely ever

absent from a charity ball. During the terrible ravages of the cholera in the capital, they resolutely remained there, to submit to the same risk of mortality as the people; and the numerous instances of their benevolence, at that period of calamity, cannot be too highly extolled." —*Austria and the Austrians*, vol. i. pp. 92-3, 95.

This is the character given of the reigning family as it is at this moment constituted. It is equally just as the same family stood under the late emperor, who was usually spoken of by all ranks as the father of his people. One would scarcely be disposed to believe, therefore, that the leading, much less the secondary, circles of society should have been then, or should still be, open and persevering violators of all the rules of public morality and decency, as Mr. Russell and other more recent travellers have asserted. Vienna is, as compared with London or Paris, a small capital. No notorious and systematic outrages upon religion and virtue could be perpetrated there without affecting the social position of the parties implicated, within the sphere of a court so severe in its principles as that just described. That transgressions against the divine laws are not of daily and hourly occurrence in Vienna, as well as elsewhere in Austria, it would be absurd to imagine; but we venture to affirm, that if data sufficiently accurate could be obtained, as to the amount of vice discoverable in Vienna, and in any other capital in the world, the result, taking their respective populations into the estimate, would be eminently favourable to the Austrian metropolis.

We can truly say (and we are borne out by the author just quoted, vol. i. pp. 128, 9) that we never beheld in any city fewer external symptoms, at least, of immorality, than in the streets and places of public resort in Vienna, looking at them even during the hours when they were most crowded by the votaries of amusement. In the churches of no other capital have we seen, not merely on the Sundays, but on the mornings and evenings of the week-days, such large assemblages of all orders of the people, occupied not in any extraordinary works of piety, but in the routine duties of religion, attendance at the holy Mass, performance of the matin and vesper prayers, the rosary and beautiful Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and the other orisons prescribed or recommended to the Catholic who sets a just value upon the consolations of his faith. The fervour, the tempered enthusiasm with which they went through the offices they had congregated to execute, were exemplary and inspiring; and yet, when the churches were closed for the day, or the hours of the appointed services were over, we were not at all surprised, though doubtless a Russell, an Inglis, or an Agnew, would be,

to behold many of those very devotees among the most cheerful of the promenaders upon the Prater.

No man of matured mind, sensible of the slight tenure by which he retains life from one moment to another, and of the consequences which its termination involves, can, in fact, ever be truly cheerful, unless he be at the same time conscious that to the best of his power he has endeavoured to win the protection of the Omnipotent. That is a cheerfulness which requires no excitement from wine or music, which declines no entertainment in itself innocent, and which looks always upon the fair earth and the heavens above it with a glow of rapture altogether unknown to the fanatic, who is led to suppose that religion cannot exist without gloom.

"We think if we make the people rest from all bodily movement on Sunday, except compelling them to fill the churches; if we close against them all other places of resort, unless it be gin-shops, that we shall make them moral, and consequently happy. We are egregiously wrong. I grant we may make them hypocrites or drunkards. We certainly are the only nation in the world, which, in town and country, looks sad on the Sabbath day. If we think we are a more virtuous and moral people than the Austrians, we are still farther in error; and I believe there is far more intoxication, and more iniquity committed, within the closed doors of London, on one Sunday, day and night together, than during the whole year in Vienna."—*Austria and the Austrians*, vol. i. p. 154.

As to the superstitions asserted to prevail in Austria we have little to say. Certain customs, pilgrimages for instance, on particular festivals, to the shrines of patron saints, originating in feelings of the true piety which marked the primitive ages of the church, still exist in almost all Catholic countries. That those meetings have occasionally degenerated from the purpose for which they had been designed, that they have been sometimes attended by persons of questionable character, and that the vicious and the profligate have taken advantage of such assemblages in order to corrupt the innocent, are facts which cannot be denied. But all ancient customs, whether secular or religious, are liable to abuse. Wherever they are so perverted, they ought undoubtedly to be suppressed, if the abuses to which they give rise cannot be otherwise removed. They are by no means essential to the church. They form no part of its faith or doctrine. At the same time, if from the associations of early habit—those associations which more than any others afford gratification to the human mind—such meetings can be continued with safety to the public peace and morals, there is no reason why they should be altogether put down. In our unso-

phisticated imagination few popular spectacles can be more interesting than those which we have witnessed in Italy and Spain, consisting of periodical processions to favourite shrines and fountains. We apprehend that in casting up the accounts of crime, they would be found infinitely less productive of evil than those assemblages called "Revivals of Religious Fervor," in England and the United States, or the "Holy Fairs," and "Camp Meetings," in Scotland.

With respect to the ignorance in which the Austrians are represented to be universally involved, let the reader judge, when he learns the fact, that by law no village in the hereditary dominions can be without an elementary school—that no male can enter the marriage state who is not able to read, write, and keep accounts—that no master of any trade can, without paying a heavy penalty, employ workmen who are unable to read and write, and that small books of a moral tendency are in constant course of publication and distribution at the lowest possible price to all the Emperor's subjects. "I have nowhere in Austria met any one under thirty years of age who was not able to read and write," says Mr. M'Gregor, who, by the way, more than once informs us that he is strongly opposed to what he calls the "political constitution" of the Catholic church. The same author states, from returns which he says he obtained without any difficulty, that there are in Austria, Bohemia, Gallicia, Moravia, the Tyrol, Styria, and the Italian provinces, eight universities, in which eight hundred and seventy-three professors afford instruction in every branch of education to twenty-two thousand students; that there are in the Austrian dominions, exclusive of Hungary and Transylvania, 25,121 national elementary schools, superintended by 10,280 ecclesiastical, and 22,082 lay teachers, and that in these schools 2,318,420 children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Taking the population of the states in question at 22,500,000, there is consequently, at the least, one in ten of the whole population receiving instruction. This statement does not include the numbers educated in the lyceums, academies, and private schools, which may be said to abound throughout the states above mentioned. Education has not been neglected in Hungary* or Transylvania; and through the exertions

* The University of Pesth has a revenue of about £60,000 per annum; it maintains, gratuitously, a great number of indigent scholars, and upwards of one thousand candidates for the priesthood. "There is no distinction as to *creeds* observed in regard to admission. In 1835, the pupils were 1172 Catholics, 253 Protestants, 261 Jews, 84 Greeks—in all 1770; besides maintaining a preparatory ecclesiastical seminary, an archigymnasium of six classes; and about 3,600 district

of the patriotic noblemen whose influence is working important reforms in both those countries, we doubt not that they will soon emulate Austria in the number of their institutions for the instruction of the people. It ill becomes an Englishman to say one word about the "ignorance" of the Austrians, when he looks at home, and sees a dominant establishment monopolizing the advantages of the two Universities, and no provision as yet made for the education of the lower orders at all comparable to the system which has long prevailed in the Austrian dominions.

The greatest difficulty against which Austria has to contend in the new career opened to her by the steam-navigation of the Danube, is the very unsatisfactory state of her revenue, presenting annually a serious deficit, which sooner or later must be provided for by fresh loans. There is no question that this deficit is the result of a code of laws founded upon the very worst views of commercial policy. For the sake of affording protection to a limited class of domestic manufactures, almost all foreign commodities are prohibited in Austria, or burthened with duties equivalent to exclusion. The advantages which the steam-navigation of the Danube is capable of conferring upon the Austrian dominions are incalculable; but, in fact, that river must be considered upon a still grander scale, as a great artery, flowing from west to east through the most important parallels of central Europe. A few canals and rail-roads of no great extent, some of which are already in progress, if not completed, will connect it with the Rhine, the Main, and the Elbe, and innumerable tributary streams, navigable, or capable of being rendered navigable throughout a great part of their respective channels, will afford inlets from it to a great number of populous towns, and tracts of country naturally rich in all kinds of produce.

The starting of a steam-boat from Vienna is a novelty which the Danube seldom allows the inhabitants of that capital to witness, as the river becomes so shallow in summer that no vessel, even of moderate burthen, can come higher up than Presburg. This inconvenience, however, is about to be remedied. Works are in progress for deepening the bed of the river, and a canal is in course of excavation, with a view to unite the capital with the great navigable arm of the Danube, distant about a league. Mr. Spencer's boat was called the *Nador*; he found on board of it

grammar and elementary schoolmasters, are aided or supported from the funds of this University."—*Austria and the Austrians*, vol. ii. p. 229. Hear this, Oxford and Cambridge!!

[July,

(April 5, 1836) from two to three hundred persons. He complains of the accommodations—very much inferior to those of the Rhenish steam-vessels—and also with equal justice of the charges for refreshment, which are extravagant, compared with the usual prices of provisions in that part of the continent. But the fares were moderate—about a pound sterling from Vienna to Pesth, for the principal cabin. His companions were, belles and beaux from Vienna, on a voyage of experiment as to the pleasure of travelling by steam, Hungarians on their way to the races, and motley tribes of Tyroleans, Styrians, Moravians, Poles, Bohemians, and Jews, on their way to the great fair, then about to be held at Pesth. The fuel used in the furnace was chiefly wood; although an abundance of coal may be found in Hungary, the enterprise is still wanted which can render it available to the uses of the steam-engine.

Within the duchy of Austria the landscape was dreary and monotonous, except where it was now and then relieved by distant prospects of the Kahlenberg and Hungarian hills. The approach to the Hungarian frontier presented scenes more picturesque,—ruined castles, dilapidated fortifications, neat towns, pretty villages, vine-clad hills, rich corn fields, and blooming gardens. Petronell, the Carnuntum of the Romans, still preserves remains of the triumphal arch erected by Augustus to Tiberius, as conqueror of Pannonia; and also some traces of the celebrated wall, which extends thence to the great Hungarian lake, Neusiedlersee,—a gigantic work, supposed to have been originally constructed by the Germans as a defence against the Huns, Tartars, and other Asiatic tribes. It served also in the Turkish wars as a serious obstacle to the followers of the Prophet, in their inroads upon Austria.

Mr. Spencer is quite right in his observation, that the tour of the Danube should be made in Spring,—not, however, as he says, because the voyager is not then liable to be tormented by mosquitoes, for he soon found the contrary to be the fact, but because

"Nature is then dressed in her brightest smiles; and, as she now appeared, I could not too much admire the delicately rich verdure of the pastures and meadows, the gardens and orchards, clothed in all their varied flowery tints, resembling so many bouquets; while the young corn, here waving in the wind, there bursting from its earthly prison in all the vigour of renewed life, gave an additional charm to the beautiful landscape."—vol. i. p. 9.

Nothing can be more dull than the banks of the Danube from Presburg to Pesth. The latter, the real capital of Hungary, has been every day rising in importance since the establishment of steam navigation, and promises before long to eclipse Vienna

itself. Mr. Spencer had the good fortune to meet there the Count (Stephen) Schechenyi, the distinguished patrician, the sage and persevering patriot, to whose exertions the introduction of steam upon the Danube is mainly, if not solely, attributable. The great improvements which have recently taken place in the society and architectural decoration of Pesth, are, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the same public-spirited and enlightened family.

Let not the traveller, while sojourning at Pesth, forget to make an excursion to the lake Balaton, and the mineral bath Fured, at a short distance from that capital. Wonderfully few calls upon his purse, pleasant social assemblies, a theatre, rural undulating environs, charming prospects over land and water, a happy climate, a beauteous village and monastery, surrounded by a chain of rocks, and perched on an island in the middle of the lake, can hardly fail to keep his mind in a state of cheerfulness for a few days. Within the fairy island are caverns, which the monks of the middle ages constructed, in order to protect themselves and their property against the devastations of the Turks. The monastery is still in the possession of their religious descendants. The lake (twenty leagues in length) is worth a visit from the stranger, were it only to afford him the opportunity of feasting upon that most "rare and delicious" fish, called by the most horrid of all names—the *fogas!* The lake, though usually clear as crystal, is said to have the magical faculty of announcing the approach of a storm, by becoming turbid. We say nothing of the "petrified hoofs" of horses which are related to be thrown up occasionally from the bosom of those waters, lest we might incur the charge of *superstition*.

The Directors of the Steam Navigation Company having resolved to despatch the *Pannonia*, a flat-bottomed boat, of thirty-six-horse power, down to Galatz, for the purpose of ascertaining how far it was practicable, from the great height the water had attained, to cross the cataracts of the Iron Door, Mr. Spencer took the opportunity, as might be collected from what we have already said, of becoming one of her passengers. The accommodations were luxurious: a lady's cabin, and a large saloon furnished with divans; the whole remarkably clean. But there being "no regular berths, the sofas performed the duties of beds!" A very good substitute too, we should have thought. Commend us to a sofa for a bed any where, much less on board a Danubian steamer. Has Mr. Spencer never roughed it *sub Jove* on a coil of rope? He was much "inconvenienced" also while performing his "toilet;" that is to say, probably, there was only one washhand basin on board,—the said basin being,

perhaps, a pie-dish ! His fate was lamentable, it must be confessed, though we would venture to affirm, that his Hungarian companions, amongst whom he mentions the excellent and venerable Count Francis Esterhazy, were happy all the day long, without having thought of any toilet at all.

Our voyager hurries on from Pesth to Peterwardein,—and so rapidly, that, like his boat, he scarcely leaves a trace behind him. He then enters one of the most stupendous gorges along the whole line of the Danube, the description of which he despatches in two lines,—preferring, it would seem, to bestow his attention upon the bath of Mehadia, at the distance of a few leagues from Orsova, which he had already visited some years ago. We give his account of it, as it may tempt some of our rheumatic, gouty, or consumptive readers, to make experiment of its power, and so discover a good excuse for a trip down the Danube.

" This pretty bath, which I visited some years since, has become, partly in consequence of the steam navigation on the Danube, (from whence it is only distant a few leagues,) and partly from the inherent efficacy of the waters, extremely popular. They were known to the Romans, who called them—from the high temperature of the water, exceeding forty-seven degrees of Reaumur, and also probably from the copiousness of the supply exceeding that of any other in Europe, ' Thermae Herculis ad aquas.'

" There are twenty-two springs, nine of which are at present in use ; and if we may believe the accounts of their healing powers, they effect a cure in most chronic cases of scrofula, cutaneous diseases, rheumatism, gout, contractions of the limbs, consumption of the lungs, diseases of the eyes, &c. Nor do their sanative qualities constitute the only attraction of these baths, for the surrounding country is beautiful, abounding with romantic valleys and lofty hills. In addition to this the climate is so mild, that we find the fig, and other trees peculiar to southern climes, growing wild in the woods ; and at the same time so genial, that the most delicate invalid may remain exposed to the air until a very late hour in the evening. Promenades are laid out with shady alleys in the vicinity, and several fine hotels have been recently constructed and fitted up with every accommodation for the visitors, who may here indulge in all the moderate luxuries of life for about a dollar a-day!"—vol. i. p. 65-6.

It was at Orsova that the Turkish threat of interruption took place, which we have already noticed. The *Pannonia* then proceeded to the Iron Door, through which, in consequence of the height the river had attained, she passed without the slightest difficulty, being unquestionably the first steam-vessel that had accomplished this somewhat perilous feat.

" Here the majestic river, pent up in a narrow channel, rushes between stupendous rocks down the descent with the rapidity of lightning, and

with a crash so tremendous, as to overpower every other sound ; while the foaming surge, as it broke with violence over the deck, and lashed the sides of our vessel, gave to the river the appearance of the sea when agitated by a storm. Nor was this all ; for before our arrival at the cataract, we had to pass through a continuation of whirlpools and inconsiderable waterfalls, which, though not dangerous, added very much to the romantic character of our voyage."—vol. i. 69-70.

This, it must be avowed, is but a scanty description of the most "magnificent horror" on the Danube. Our voyager affords us no temptation to delay with him until he arrives at Silistria, where the Danube becomes so broad, that to those who coast the Bulgarian side, the Wallachian shore is scarcely visible. The banks now became only a continued series of marshes, fertile, to an awful degree, of mosquitoes, sand-flies, and hornets, who, sometimes alternately, sometimes *en masse*, attacked the unfortunate passengers. At night, the plagues were most numerous, and most tormenting. They entered the cabin in such clouds, as to extinguish all the lights. Their appetite for blood is insatiable. Woe ! to the untanned European who ventures beyond Silistria without a mosquito net, for if he escape from their assaults, and the chorus of their hum, to which the weeping of Pandemonium is melody itself, by taking refuge on the deck, it is but passing from Scylla to Charybdis, for there he will probably catch the intermittent fever, another offspring of the swamps.

Such was the rapidity of the current beyond Silistria, that even without the assistance of the engine, the steamer was borne onward with astonishing velocity to Hirsova, formerly a fortified town, constructed on a series of rocky eminences, which, in the last war, resisted the siege of the Russians for two months. It is now in ruins, the few habitations which are found there consisting entirely of mud. The rock on which the citadel stood, affords an extensive prospect over the vast plains of Wallachia and Bulgaria, to the chain of the Balkans,—plains, blessed with a fine climate and a fertile soil, which industry might enrich with every species of useful produce, but which is now a wilderness. Pelicans and eagles are seen here in great abundance. Braila, the next port visited by the *Pannonia*, is a commercial town of considerable importance in Wallachia. It has been recently resorted to by several English vessels. At a short distance beyond it is Galatz, in Moldavia,—a town, which though chiefly consisting of mud houses, contains upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants, and has been rising rapidly in importance since the establishment of steam-boats on the Danube.

Before that epoch, as we may justly style it, Galatz exhibited a picture of wretchedness. But Mr. Spencer mentions signs of improvement,—which, though few, it is delightful to contemplate: an air of animation in the port—pretty villas rising on the heights—some eight or ten mercantile vessels, chiefly British, lying in the river—and *two* Austrian steamers, one of which, the “Ferdinando Primo,” trades between Galatz and Constantinople.

“ In wandering through the town, I was more pleased with the aspect of the inhabitants than of their dwellings, as they formed a variety of groupes at once picturesque and interesting. In one place, under the verandah of a coffee-house, sat a crowd of Turks, languidly smoking the *tchibouque*: in another were to be seen, sauntering along the beach, a long range of most primitive-looking carriages, driven by Jews, Turks, Greeks or Moldavians, in their respective costumes, and attended by bare-legged footmen. Here the awkward military were attempting to perform their European evolutions; and a stranger, on observing them, might deem they were afraid of gunpowder, as they never fired a salute without first making the sign of the cross on their foreheads. There Jews, in their long vestments and high fur caps, were selling their flimsy wares at a profit of cent. per cent., to the crew of an English vessel just released from quarantine; and, to complete the picture, hundreds of men and boys were breasting the silvery current of the river, unencumbered with the superfluity of bathing dresses, beneath the eyes of numbers of fair ladies, who nevertheless seemed to regard the matter with the most perfect nonchalance.”—vol. i. 84-5.

Mr. Spencer embarked on board the *Ferdinando* for Constantinople. Below Ismael, in the palmy days of Ottoman ascendancy one of the most beautiful and commercial towns in the empire, but now scarcely entitled to a dot on the map, commences the Delta of the Danube—a vast sea, thickly studded with swampy islands covered with bulrushes—the very type of extreme desolation. Among these islands, the river divides itself into various arms,—some say seven,—some six—five—four. The principal is the Suline, which mariners generally use,—and the central line of which, according to the treaty of Adrianople, divides the Russian from the Turkish dominions. Along this arm the *Ferdinando* was hurried with amazing velocity into the Euxine; the river still preserving its yellow turbid character for an immense distance, as it rolled through the clear dark-blue waters of the sea. It happened that at the moment a thunder-storm came on: the waves rose in mountains—the tempest drove the steamer, like a feather, through the surge—but she rode gallantly through, and, in a short time, reached Varna. The following morning her voyage to Stamboul was accomplished. Mr. Spencer states, that exclusive of table charges, which are

rather high, the sum of eleven pounds sterling would cover the whole of his expenses from Vienna to Constantinople; and that casting anchor each night at sunset, the tourist might perform the voyage, from one capital to the other, with the greatest ease, in eight days. In the still imperfect state of things, he may, however, allow four days more for accidents.

The British trade to the Danube is as yet confined to sailing vessels, which proceed no higher than Galatz and Braila. Such is the force of the current, that no wind can contend against it; and it therefore becomes necessary to employ a considerable number of men to drag the vessels to their destination. The shore, unfortunately, is so marshy, and, where it ceases to be a swamp, so rocky, that the labour of these men is tremendous. The Russian authorities afford little encouragement to our enterprise in that quarter; indeed, at first, they attempted, under the various pretexts of tolls and quarantine laws, to exclude us altogether from the Danube. But, a well-timed and vigorous remonstrance from Lord Palmerston, has put an end to those manœuvres. Still the upward navigation of the Danube, especially through the embouchures, must be attended with many difficulties, which steam-power alone can overcome. It is certainly possible to cut a canal, or rather as some say, to re-open an old arm of the Danube, now filled up with sand, which, in ancient times, connected that river with the Euxine at Kustendji. The map shews, a little below Silistria, the lake of Rassova, extending thirteen miles in length, communicating with the Danube. From the eastern extremity of that lake to the coast of the Black Sea, the direct distance does not appear to be quite twenty miles—a distance not to be compared to that through which the Dutch have cut from Amsterdam to the Helder, for their frigates and East India ships, merely to avoid the intricacies of the Zuyderzee. Such a canal, if executed upon an adequate scale, would be attended with great advantages. To the merchant proceeding from the Bosphorus, it would shorten the way into the Danube by more than two hundred miles; it would give him solid towing-ground, and would save him altogether from the necessity of passing near the frontiers of Russia. He might go up to Georgeva, or even to Gladova, with ease,—or descend to Braila and Galatz, with still more facility. That this great work will be achieved one day, we entertain little doubt; but that day must be still distant, unless the undertaking be confided to British enterprise, capital, and skill. The natural riches of Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and Hungary, not to go farther, would alone justify such a labour, and even repay it, “beyond the dreams of avarice.”

[July,

The progress lately made in opening the trade of the Danube, which, however, has not yet, from several causes, been so profitable as some of the more ardent adventurers expected, appears to have directed attention very generally also to the coasts of the Black Sea. Our commercial intercourse with that region had been long confined chiefly to Odessa, which from being an inconsiderable Tartar village in 1792, has become a maritime city, containing nearly sixty thousand inhabitants, many private mansions and public buildings, erected in a style of splendour, and numerous bazaars, stored with the productions of Asia and Europe. Odessa, however, although a free port, labours under serious disadvantages. The town is ill supplied with water, that found in the wells being brackish: the country behind it, to a vast distance, is an elevated plain, destitute of wood for fuel; the winter, which endures full six months, is necessarily severe, in a climate exposed to the unmitigated violence of the north-easterly winds; the bay is annually frozen from December to February, thus presenting a material hindrance to commerce: in consequence of its contiguity to Turkey, every vessel that arrives is obliged to submit to a quarantine of fourteen days, a great loss of time to the mariner and merchant, and the bay, or rather roadstead, is so exposed, that no autumn or spring passes without recording the wrecks of numerous traders. These inconveniences and dangers, added to the expensive formalities of the Russian government respecting passports, the port regulations, and the heavy, almost prohibitive, duties imposed upon foreign manufactures, limit the commerce of Odessa chiefly to exportation, and have constantly operated as a check upon its growth as a place of first-rate commercial character. Whenever favourable harvests in the southern provinces of Russia happen to be contemporary with deficient harvests in England and the south of Europe, then Odessa seems a Liverpool. But when those temporary causes of activity pass away, Odessa subsides to a maritime town of less than secondary rank in the scale.

Hence Constantinople and Trebizond have been lately much resorted to by our merchantmen; and inquiries have been prosecuted along the coasts of Circassia, with a degree of vigour which promises eventually results eminently beneficial. It is true, that the capture and confiscation of the *Vixen*, may, for a season, discourage enterprise on the Circassian coast; but the correspondence laid by Lord Palmerston on the table of the House of Commons, since the publication of our last number, shews that there is nothing in those proceeding calculated to interfere with the lawful right of British subjects to carry on their trade in that quarter.

From the correspondence to which we allude, it appears that in the year 1831, the Russian government issued a regulation, duly notified to all the powers, by which foreign seamen who might desire to visit the *eastern* coast of the Black Sea, were prohibited from touching at any other points than those at which quarantine establishments and custom houses were situated, viz., Anapa, a little to the south of the Kuban river, in Circassia, and Redoute-Kalé, upon the Kopi, in Mingrelia. The late firm of Messrs. George Bell and Co., being aware of this regulation, undertook to try its legality at their own risk. They accordingly chartered the *Vixen*, of London, and having shipped on board a cargo of salt, the vessel, under the direction of Mr. James Bell, sailed for the coast of Circassia, and arrived on the 24th of November last, at Soudjuk-Kalé, thirty miles to the south-east of Anapa. The *Vixen* was, within thirty-six hours after, while in the act of trading with the inhabitants, captured there by a Russian brig of war, taken to Sevastopol, confiscated, together with her cargo, and declared good prize. Soudjuk-Kalé has neither custom-house nor quarantine establishment. Salt is an article the importation of which into all the Russian ports of the Black Sea, and of the sea of Azoph, is expressly prohibited by the Russian tariff. If Soudjuk-Kalé, therefore, on the 24th of November last, was a Russian port, the *Vixen* was clearly liable to confiscation as a smuggler; and the supercargo, captain, and crew were subject to serious penalties for violating the quarantine laws.

The question depends, consequently, on the national character of Soudjuk-Kalé at the time specified. By Article IV of the treaty of Adrianople, between Russia and the Porte, the coast of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Kuban to the harbour of St. Nicholas, inclusive (embracing, in fact, the whole eastern coast), was placed, in 1829, under the dominion of the Czar. Custom-houses and quarantine stations were soon after established at Anapa and Redoute-Kalé; and both those ports were then opened to the *regular* trade of all nations. It appears, moreover, that there is a fortress in the bay of Soudjuk-Kalé, which was, at the time, *de facto* occupied by a Russian garrison. In the treaty of 1783, between Russia and the Porte, Soudjuk-Kalé was acknowledged as a Turkish possession. It was ceded to Russia by the Porte in 1829; and, when the *Vixen* arrived there, was occupied by Russian soldiers. The *Vixen* was, moreover, laden with an unlawful cargo. Her confiscation, therefore, was in every way justifiable; and the supercargo, captain, and crew, may think themselves fortunate in not having been visited, as by law they might have been, with the penalties attendant

upon the violation of quarantine ; especially when it is remembered that more than half the inhabitants of Odessa, were, on one occasion, swept off by a pestilence imported from Constantinople.

On the other hand, it is said, that previous to the last war with Turkey, the Czar issued a manifesto disclaiming any views of fresh territorial acquisitions ; that Soudjuk-Kalé was never a Turkish possession, and, in November last, was not a Russian possession, because the Circassians, upon whose coast it is situated, have never yet been conquered by either of those powers. The answer given to this is, that in 1783, the port in question was recognized by Russia to be under the authority of Turkey, and that Turkey, in 1829, ceded that authority to Russia. If the Circassians deny the legality of the recognition in one case, or of the cession in the other, there is the *fact* of possession still to be disputed,—to be disputed only by arms ; to be overturned only by success. No foreign power is of necessity called upon to decide that question. As to the manifesto of the Czar, by not adhering to it, he unquestionably brought a stain upon his government. It will be a good reason for not trusting again to Russian documents of that description ; but it is for England, at least, no adequate cause of war.

A very beautiful declaration of " Independence " was published for the Circassians some time ago in the *Portfolio*, a journal whose sole object is the propagation of every kind of intelligence, whether authentic or apocryphal, which might tend to inflame public opinion in this country against Russia. Unfortunately, Messrs. Bell and Co. appear to have acted upon the supposition that a declaration of that kind is equivalent to independence itself. They perhaps considered the document as one not altogether unapproved by the precautionary policy of the British government ; and in that view they took it upon themselves to precipitate questions into the arena which are as yet unripe for discussion.

The interest, however, which the struggles of the Circassian tribes against the oppressive rule of the Czar, has excited lately in this country, is manifestly on the increase. Several travellers have visited their mountains, and favoured us with accounts of their military ardour and gallantry, their national customs, and the scenery of their territory, which have been well received. The narrative of M. de Marigny would have been deemed valuable, had it not been superseded by the more recent and more ample details furnished by Mr. Spencer. The attempt to impart to the former peculiar importance, by announcements that the suppressions in the Russian edition are restored, and that

the interpolations of the Muscovite censor are exhibited in the translation now before us, is not likely to extend its popularity. In fact, the passages eliminated and added are scarcely worth notice. We shall, as we go along, in our visit to the Circassians, receive from M. de Marigny all the assistance his observations can lend us; but Mr. Spence must be our principal cicerone.

In consequence of the whole of the Circassian coast being strictly watched by Russian ships of war, our traveller found a voyage thither an affair of no small difficulty. Assuming the character of a Genoese doctor, lest, if he preserved his English name and appearance, he might be taken to be a political agent (the Genoese having, some centuries ago, carried on an intercourse with the Circassians, still favourably remembered by the latter), he engaged a passage on board a Turkish brigantine (a smuggler) bound for Pchad, a small port to the south-east of Soudjuk-Kalé. The cargo consisted of ammunition and salt. They were fortunate enough to reach their destination without interruption. The Russians held military possession of Pchad for some time; but they were expelled from it by the Circassians, who destroyed their magazines. Equipped as a Circassian warrior, mounted upon a splendid horse which cost 4*l.* (in England, he says, it would have cost 100*l.*) and accompanied by the captain of the brigantine, Mr. Spencer set out for the residence of the chief of the district, Indar Oglou. They were followed by a numerous train of the natives, whose appearance our author describes in animated language.

"The inhabitants of this part of the Caucasus, after the establishment of the Ottoman power on the Black Sea, having been, in consequence of Turkish jealousy and their constant wars, excluded for ages from holding any communication with the more civilized natives of Europe, particularly their old friends, the Genoese, now present the singular anomaly of a people retaining a great deal of the chivalrous customs and manners that distinguished the warriors of the middle ages, in conjunction with those of the Orient, and their own natural simplicity as mountaineers. In vain I sought among the crowd the eye of some chief, some superior, whose presence held in check the fierce warriors around me; but none such could I discover: they all seemed of the same family, the same rank; and yet, with the exception of their boisterous mirth, the loud screaming of the war-cry, and singing of warlike songs, they could not be exceeded for orderly behaviour by any other body of men, even in the best disciplined country of the most despotic power in Europe.

"I was first struck with their fine martial appearance, athletic forms, regular features, and the proud consciousness of freedom displayed in every glance and movement. The most accomplished cavalier in Europe could not sit his horse with greater ease and grace than did these wild

mountaineers ; and the symmetry of the noble animals that carried them I have never seen equalled, except in our own country. All this ill accorded with the poverty of their habiliments and accoutrements ; but, whether they were habited in hemp, linen, the coarsest baize, or even sheep's-skin, I was compelled to admire the sensible shape of their vestments, and their admirable adaptation either to display the symmetry of the form, a defence against the weather, or an appropriate military costume : and yet this has been the attire of this singular people from time immemorial,—a people whom we have been accustomed to regard as barbarians, but whose dress and system of warfare are now adopted, to improve those of the Russian army.

" The usual dress of a Circassian warrior of all classes is a tunic resembling a military Polonaise, without a collar, closely fitted to the body, and descending to the knee, secured around the middle by a leather girdle, ornamented, according to the wealth or fancy of the wearer with gold or silver, in which are stuck a pair of pistols and a poniard. The latter is a most formidable weapon in close combat. During an attack, they hold it in their left hand, and, from its breadth and length, reaching to the elbow, it serves every purpose of a shield.

" In addition to this, the Circassian is armed with a light gun, slung across the shoulder, and a sabre suspended by a silk cord in the Turkish fashion ; attached to the belt is a powder-flask, and a small metal box containing flints, steel, gun-screws, oil, and, not unfrequently, a small hatchet. Hence, a Circassian, whether on foot or on horseback, is at all times completely armed. Sometimes he carries a javelin, which he uses with singular dexterity and effect, hurling it to a considerable distance with an aim that never errs. The latter weapon is also used as a rest for the rifle, having a groove at the top expressly for that purpose. Bows and arrows are now very seldom used, except in cases where it is necessary to arm the whole population.

" On either side of the breast of the coat are the patron pockets, made of morocco leather, usually containing twenty-four rounds of ball cartridge. These not only add to the military appearance of the soldier, but in some measure protect the breast, and are extremely convenient. A round fur cap, with a crown the same colour as the ammunition pocket, is the covering for the head ; and cloth trousers, in the eastern fashion, complete the costume. Princes and nobles are alone entitled to the privilege of wearing red ; and the Circassians, like the natives of most other eastern countries, shave the head, and are never seen barefoot. When marching, or on a journey, they always add a cloak made from camel or goat's hair, with a hood, which completely envelopes the whole person ; this is called a *tchaouka*, and no Mackintosh was ever more impenetrable to the rain : rolled up in its thick folds, it forms the only bed during their encampments, and serves, besides, to protect them against the scorching rays of the sun."—vol. ii. p. 216-219.

The scenery through which the strangers passed was Swiss in its character : valleys watered by crystal streams ; cottages clustered on their banks, or suspended on the eminences above ;

rich pastures, trodden by numerous herds of cattle ; and fields undergoing the usual routine of cultivation. "I was not a little amused," says Mr. Spencer, "to see the men and boys at work in the fields, on perceiving our party, desert their labours, fly to their cottages, arm themselves, and mount their horses, in order to swell our ranks." Proceeding over mountains, through dense forests, romantic glens, open plains, and dark ravines, for the most part, however, diligently cultivated, our doctor would have thought himself, from the non-appearance of habitations, still far from the place of which he was in search, had he not been informed, that, in fact, the various territory through which he passed was thickly inhabited, the Circassians having the habit of concealing their dwellings by dense foliage, in order to elude hostile observation. On his journey he was further told, that Indar Oglou was absent with his sons at a meeting of "the confederate princes," but that he might count upon being well received at the residence of a chief of the second class.

"Here my host of companions left me, apparently much pleased ; for their shouts of 'vo-ri, ra, ka' redounded from hill to hill, from rock to rock. Thus, I had every reason to feel grateful for my reception, and satisfied with the friendly disposition evinced by the inhabitants towards me. We were ushered into the apartment reserved for the reception of strangers, where the squire of my host divested me of all my arms, except the poniard, and hung them up on the walls of the rooms, already adorned with a vast number, consisting of guns, pistols, sabres, poniards, bows, and arrows, and one or two coats of mail, all kept in the highest order, and several richly ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones.

"The room differed little in its appointments from those of the Turks. The floor was covered with a brilliantly-coloured carpet ; a divan of red leather, stuffed with hair, surrounded the chamber ; and several small tablets, inscribed with verses of the Koran, in the Arabic language, were affixed to the walls. From this circumstance, I inferred that my host professed the Mahometan religion, which induced me to present him my firman, when, like a true believer, he kissed it most reverently, evidently regarding me with high respect, as the possessor of a document so sacred as to have affixed to it the seal of the spiritual chief of all the Osmanlis. However, his acquaintance with the Turkish language was merely confined to a few phrases, and his knowledge of Islamism vague and imperfect.

"Our refreshment was served in the Turkish style, consisting of a variety of dishes, separately brought in, upon small round tables about half a foot high. There could not have been less than from twelve to fifteen. Many would have been much better, had they been less seasoned. They were principally made from poultry, mutton, milk, honey, and fruits, with pastry. But all my entreaties were unavailing to induce our host to share the repast with us, who, according to the

custom of this people, remained in the room the whole of the time, in the most courteous manner, anticipating every wish.

" During the repast, we were waited upon, in addition to our host, by several female slaves. The drink was a species of mead, and the boza of the Tartars, made from millet, in taste not unlike small beer. The bread was a composition of wheat and maize of excellent flavour; and, in the pilaff, which was not to be despised, buck-wheat formed a very good substitute for rice. Of course, we had a pewter tray for a table-cloth, wooden bowls for glasses, poniards for carving knives, fingers for forks, and the palms of our hands for spoons; but all these inconveniences, common to the East, were to me but as a feather in the balance, compared with being obliged to sit for an hour on a carpet, cross-legged; and, I assure you, I felt not a little pleasure, when the ceremony was over, to take a ramble through the grounds.

" The clustered dwellings of my host, which might be said to resemble a little hamlet, were pleasantly situated on a rising eminence sloping down to the banks of a rivulet; and, being surrounded by grounds, divided, with no little judgment, into gardens, orchards, paddocks, meadows, and corn-fields, animated, here and there, with flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, altogether formed a very pretty picture. I could not but admire the judicious arrangement of the granary, supported on short stone pillars, each having attached, a few feet from the ground, a broad circular stone, hollowed in the centre, by means of which it effectually preserves the grain not only from dampness, but from the attack of any vermin whatsoever."—vol. ii. p. 223-226.

M. de Marigny is fond of discovering traits of resemblance between the manners of the Circassians and those of the ancient Greeks, assuming the latter to be accurately described in that most picturesque and beautiful of all *Tours*, the *Odyssey*. The fact is, that the scenes and customs painted in that immortal work are not peculiar to the old Greek nations. They will be found to prevail generally in those tracts of country which include Asia Minor, the borders of the Black Sea, the Hellespont, the Bosphorus, and the Danube. It must, however, be admitted, that the Circassians of the present day remind us more of that pleasing rusticity, that becoming pride, that chastened barbarism, those tableaux of classic forms and patriarchal hospitality, which characterize the age of Agamemnon, than do even the regions once traversed by Ulysses. The following description of the petty chieftain's household is, in many respects, Odyssean:—

" During our rambles through the grounds, we found the wives and children of my host, with their slaves, employed at agricultural pursuits, or tending their flocks and herds. Some were engaged in reaping, others in milking the cows; and one fine-looking princess, with the force of an Amazon, was repairing a wooden fence with a hatchet. Among the children, there was a remarkably good-looking, curly-headed boy, and

a girl, about eight or nine years of age, who seemed, in an especial degree, to possess the affection of the father. I was just in the act of extolling the beauty of the children, when I was fortunately checked in time by the captain; for though, in Europe, you win the heart of a parent by praising his offspring, yet here, for the same compliment, you are accused of intending to extend over them the malign influence of the evil eye.

"The young urchins were not inappropriately named the 'Look of a Lion,' and the 'Speed of a Deer'; for the one was playing with the half-wild horses as if they were kittens, while the fair young princess displayed the utmost agility in driving her refractory charge of goats, cows, and buffaloes, to water.

"The women of Circassia are not, as in other parts of the East, completely confined to the harem, nor are they altogether obliged to conceal their features with the veil from the observation of the stranger, that article of dress being worn more as a shelter from the sun, when taking the air, and, in-doors, as a graceful form of head-dress. The wives of my host were habited in a species of white garment, made from camel or goat's hair, which enveloped the whole form. To this was added a muslin veil; and you cannot think how picturesque was the effect when viewed from a distance. The *sanctum sanctorum*, in which were lodged the women and children, in addition to being enclosed within a wooden fence, was completely concealed from view by the thick foliage of groves of trees. Here are also the sheds for the cattle; the remainder of the cots being either set apart for the reception of strangers, or inhabited by the dependents of the chief. There might have been altogether about six or seven; the whole built of hurdles, plastered inside and out, and neatly thatched with reeds and Indian corn leaves. Each cot contained two rooms; the one, with a large fireplace in the centre, appropriated to cooking and domestic purposes, somewhat resembled that of an old English farm house, having pot-hooks and hangers; while the other answered the double purpose of a sitting-room and dormitory. A chequered mat, of variegated colours, covered the floor; and a divan surrounded three sides of the room: the only additional furniture being a few small tables, about a foot in height, and something resembling a chest of drawers; unless, indeed, we include the saddles, bridles, housings, and weapons, that hung suspended against the walls.

"Those occupied by the ladies of the chieftain and their slaves, were furnished in a similar manner; the only additional decoration, I presume by way of ornament, were shelves loaded with glass, china, and bright culinary utensils, made of brass, copper, or glazed pottery, intended more for show than use. There was also a grand display, hanging upon lines across the room, of the various specimens of female industry, such as embroidered napkins, handkerchiefs, veils, and costly dresses, glittering with gold and silver. In one corner was a heap of mattresses, and in another, pillows and coverlets covered with a gay muslin quilt of various colours, but most studiously arranged, so as to shew the ends of each, which were decked with satin, sprigged with gold and silver; and it is

but justice to the fair dames to say, that every thing was kept remarkably clean and neat.

" Of every part of the dwelling of this primitive people, the little verandah, in fine weather, is the greatest favourite ; this is generally furnished with a mat and a bench for a divan. Here the visitor is regaled ; here the improvisatore chants the warlike songs of his nation ; the story-teller relates the traditional tale." —vol. ii. p. 226-9.

Mountains are always the favourite abodes, the best fortresses of liberty ; and in no country are those fortresses so numerous and so impregnable as in Circassia. It is, moreover, a favourable peculiarity of those regions, that however precipitous or rocky an ascent may be, each usually terminates in a *fertile* plateau, even at a height of between four and five thousand feet above the level of the sea. A people accustomed to such mountains can never be expelled from them. Driven from the coast, they fly to their valleys ; let the enemy occupy every valley, they climb the eminence above him ; march upon them there, they climb still higher and higher, finding, wherever they go, abundance of provisions ; and, when they are refreshed, and the enemy fatigued with a warfare to which he is not habituated, and half starved in a country which he has desolated, they pounce upon him like eagles from their eyries, and cut him down like corn ripe for the sickle.

It is the policy, therefore, of Russia, to select certain points, which, if she can possess and maintain them, will enable her, not so much to keep Circassia in subjection, as to prevent the principal tribes from confederating against her upon any important crisis. To reduce all the tribes to her allegiance is a chimera which never enters her most sanguine councils. The next best effort of her power is to divide those tribes, by strong positions, and by incessant intrigues, from each other ; and so, if she cannot take their arms from them, at least to render them pointless. Thus, last year the Cossacks captured a strong position on the Aboun, a tributary of the Kuban, which is so situated with reference to Soudjuk-Kalé and Ghelendjik to the south-east of that port, that if they had succeeded in establishing themselves there, they would ultimately have separated the north-western angle of Circassia from the remaining portions of that territory. It was in order to defeat this object that the Circassian princes had formed the confederation, in the promotion of which they were engaged when Mr. Spencer visited their country.

Proceeding to their camp (a chivalrous scene) he found them actively engaged in the prosecution of their purpose :

" As we descended from the mountain, the bright rays of the evening sun were shedding their rich effulgence over the beautiful valley,

watered by the Ubin and the Aphibs, tributaries of the Kuban ; bosomy hills, covered with the richest verdure, gradually rose from their banks, crowned, at the extreme horizon, by the snowy pinnacles of the Caucasian alps. But it was not altogether the natural charms of the landscape that arrested my attention, so much as its animated features, for on that spot the confederated princes of Circassia, with their brave followers, were encamped, preparing to arrest the progress of the invader ; and a more interesting, novel, or imposing spectacle, than they presented to the eye of a European, can hardly be conceived.

"The tents of the different chiefs were separately grouped (several of the true Hamaxobi form), surrounded by their clansmen, engaged in every description of warlike exercise; some hurling the javelin or hatchet at a mark, others practising with every species of weapon, from a poniard to a bow and arrow ; here performing equestrian feats, there wrestling or running. Smiths, in one place, were to be seen, repairing fire-arms ; in another, horses were being taught swimming, and mere infants riding ; in short, it appeared as if fighting were the sole business of existence in this country.

" Still the pastoral habits of the people were not altogether lost sight of, as, in the far distance, the eye wandered over agricultural fields, filled with men, women, and children ; their verdant pastures dotted with numerous flocks and herds.

" On discharging our fire-arms, which always announces the arrival of a chief, numbers of gallant warriors galloped forth from the tents and thickets, and, in a few seconds, we found ourselves surrounded by hundreds of the noblest patriots in Circassia ; some dressed in the simple costume of the country, and others in glittering chain armour. It was then that the valiant chief, Hirsis, Sultoune Oglou, unfurled the splendid national banner he had just received from Stamboul, wrought by the beautiful hands of a Circassian princess, occupying a high station in the Turkish empire.

" At the sight of the long-expected national flag, thousands of swords flew in the air, and one universal long-continued shout of joy burst from the immense multitude. Never was there a greater display of enthusiasm, nor a fiercer determination exhibited by a people to defend their fatherland. Their common danger having awakened in their breasts, for the first time, a sense of the necessity of union, as the first and most necessary element to ensure success, every male throughout the whole country has sworn never to submit to the Russians, nor to enter into any commercial relation, nor hold any communication with them, under any pretence. The eternal feuds which had heretofore subsisted between chief and chief, tribe and tribe, have ceased ; and those Circassians who had hitherto ravaged each other's territories, are now to be seen hand in hand, united by the closest bonds of fellowship."—vol. ii. p. 269-271.

A council of war was immediately afterwards held in a "sacred grove" contiguous to their camp ; the trees were hung with

votive offerings—one of the beautiful expressions of the piety of the heart in all religions; and on a small hillock stood the remains of an ancient wooden-cross—the memorial doubtless of some pilgrims or missionaries who had visited those mountains. In front of that emblem, which, without knowing its true title to veneration, these chieftains looked upon with respect, they took their seats upon the green turf, the multitude standing around beneath the sylvan shade. The debate all tended in one direction—fierce hatred against the Russians; resolutions of permanent union and resistance against the invader. The sentiments expressed by the different orators are alike to those which we find also, according to M. de Marigny's information, entertained by the various separate tribes he had visited years ago. The result of the deliberations of the council Mr. Spencer did not remain to witness; but it has since proved that their plans of warfare were judicious. The garrison at Aboun, reduced by starvation, have been compelled to abandon their position. Soudjuk-Kalé—where the *Vizien* only made her appearance *too soon*—has been also deserted by the Russians. And we have little doubt that in due time the Circassians will be able to prove to Europe that they can not only proclaim, but maintain, their independence. Nor can it be questioned that the policy of England recommends their cause to our approbation. The barrier which their territory, their national prejudices, and their gallantry, can oppose to the further progress in that quarter of an empire already sufficiently powerful, is important, and as such it must be considered by our statesmen.

In a commercial point of view—a view of which it is our duty as a trading people never to lose sight—the establishment of Circassian independence could not be otherwise than advantageous. Mr. Spencer and M. de Marigny agree in reporting that the mountains contain lead and silver ore; and as particles of gold have been found in some rivulets, it is not improbable that gold mines may also be discovered in that country. With their admirable qualifications for mountain warfare, the Circassians combine also the habits of rural industry and virtue. Strange to say, they retain amongst them the notion, legalized amongst the Lacedemonians, that to steal, provided the act be performed with dexterity and success, is eminently laudable. A maiden looks upon her swain as entitled to no notice until he has made himself master of a neighbour's cow or steed, not however by any mean process of nocturnal depredation, but in the open day and with that sort of adroitness which also evinces courage. It is, therefore, the display of personal resolution, circumspection, and good-fortune, which is really admired—not

the appropriation of another man's goods. This, and other habits, however, of evil tendency, are only to be eradicated by throwing round that interesting people the toils of civilization. They only want, as a friend of ours remarked, "a little of our Newcastle smoke."

They possess a territory abounding in the charms of nature—their mountains, as well as their vallies, teem with fertility—immense herds of goats, sheep, horses, and oxen, may be seen browsing in all directions among herbage of incomparable luxuriance. The climate favours the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, rice, indigo, and saffron. The plants of our green houses grow in the open air. The oak, valonia, beech, ash, and elm, all the European fruit-trees, are found there in great abundance and perfection. The foliage of the linden extends far and wide over their hamlets, its aromatic flowers yield the elements of honey to their bees, and a tisane to themselves, and its bark may be made into sandals, baskets, mats, and substitutes for slates for their habitations. The Circassian yew, cherry, chesnut, box, and plane, are unequalled for the magnitude which they attain; and the *outchelia*, the wood of which is of a deep rose colour, possesses a close and variegated grain, susceptible of a high polish, which would seem to render it available for many ornamental purposes. The vine flourishes in great luxuriance in the forests. Cotton also, hemp and flax, may be grown on the flats with scarcely any trouble.

The custom, though a very ancient one, which sanctions the sale of their females, is one of the lamentable habits that would speedily be abolished among the Circassians, if they could be Europeanized. A father deems it no degradation to take a price for his daughter—a brother in the same way will, without a blush, set up his sister to auction, and dispose of her to the highest bidder. However, it is to be recollectcd, that in most parts of the East, the husband, instead of receiving a dower with his wife, pays one for her; and it is the notion of providing a handsome establishment for a female, rather than that of trafficking for the gain of the vendor, which usually presides in these transactions. The system of making predatory incursions, with a view to carry off supplies for the slave market, has been nearly put an end to, in consequence of the recent confederation of the principal tribes.

The whole Circassian coast offers excellent anchorage for navigators. The most northern port, Anapa, has been for some years, as we have already seen, in the possession of the Russians. But they are confined to the fortress, which bristles with cannon, while the heights around it are covered with armed men, at all

times prepared to resist any attempt on the part of the Russians to extend themselves beyond the walls. Mr. Spencer, before he commenced his excursions in the interior of Circassia, had the good fortune to be one of a party who accompanied Count Woronzow, the Governor-General of New Russia, on a steam-voyage round the coasts of the Black Sea. On their arrival, however, at Anapa, the Count landed, attended only by his Russian guests. The garrison happened at the time to be very unhealthy; and they had shortly before experienced more than one disaster in their conflicts with the natives, whose hostility, it seems, becomes every day not only more determined, but more skilfully directed, under the guidance, it is said, of an English officer who has served in India. Perhaps the Count did not choose to afford Mr. Spencer an opportunity of witnessing the slightness of the tenure by which his Imperial master held the entrance into Circassia. As a port for commerce Anapa can never be of much importance. It is shallow; and, in consequence of the violence of the winds which descend in hurricanes from the mountains, vessels at anchor there are frequently driven out to sea. The town chiefly consists of mud or wood cabins, thatched with reeds, or the leaves of Indian corn. It can only be supplied with good water from a mountain rivulet not far distant from the walls; but short as that distance is, the men who go out for the water are obliged to be escorted by a park of artillery with lighted matches!—so vigilant, so implacable is the hostility of the natives.

Soudjuk-Kalé is a much more important position. Its bay is a splendid one, affording safe anchorage, and opening into a fertile valley of great length, which communicates with several others, reaching to the very base of the Caucasian Alps. Ghelendjik, the next military station of the Russians on the coast, is about sixteen miles distant from Soudjuk-Kalé. The panorama unfolded to the steam-voyager along that shore is magical. Mountains, verdant from the water's edge to the highest peak, dotted by numberless flocks of snow-white sheep intermingled with buffaloes, oxen, jet-black goats, and beautiful half wild horses tossing their curved necks and flowing manes while bounding along the declivities; hamlets perched amidst embowering shades, above which may be seen curling, through the pure air, the smoke from chimney tops; shepherds in picturesque costumes leaning on their long spears; fields yellow with the exuberant harvest; camels laden with the precious sheaves, winding homeward over the hills and through the vallies, the bells suspended from their necks tinkling in the distance, combine altogether to constitute a picture of peace, plenty, and

happiness, the possession of which no man ought to forfeit while he can raise an arm to defend it.

The bay of Ghelendjik is one of the safest and most commodious harbours in the Black Sea. The entrance is between two capes, distant from each other little more than half a mile; its greatest breadth is about a mile and a quarter, and in length it runs somewhat more than two miles. The anchorage within the bay is good every where, varying in depth from fourteen fathoms to four. It is protected by the surrounding highlands from every wind that blows. The valley into which the bay opens is beautiful; it is irrigated by a transparent brook which would afford water in abundance for a large fleet. Here also the Russians have a *garrison*, but nothing more. In 1832, the Czar issued an ukase permitting Russian subjects to settle at Ghelendjik, and moreover granting them exemption from taxes, imposts, and military duties for twenty years, provided only that they would defend themselves from the natives. But the unfortunate adventurers who made the experiment soon found the woeful difficulties they had to contend against in executing the condition of their tenure. The mountaineers, who kept possession of the heights above the fortress, rendered every attempt to form a settlement hopeless; and the fortress alone, mounted with heavy guns, is still retained by the Russians, with the assistance of not less than two thousand men, a corvette, a brig of war, and three cutters.

About fourteen or fifteen miles further down the coast is the small bay of Pchad, still in the possession of the Circassians; so also is Kodos, another bay, twenty miles from the latter; these are succeeded by several creeks and miniature estuaries, as far as Vadran, where the celebrated defile of Jagra commences. Eighty miles below Vadran is the vast bay of Pitzounda, famed for its excellent anchorage, its great depth of water, and protected situation, being sheltered against the land winds by a chain of mountains, and from those of the sea by a lofty promontory. The only point at which it is exposed is the south-east, not considered to be dangerous in that part of the Euxine. This fine harbour is in possession of the Russians. Pitzounda is supposed to have been the site of the ancient Pythus, and to have formed, in that direction, the frontier of the Byzantine empire. The remains of a monastery and of a church, built in the form of a Greek cross, still exist there in excellent preservation. The church appears to have been erected by Justinian.

From Pitzounda to Souchum-Kalé, the last of the Circassian ports, the distance is computed to be thirty miles. When possessed by the Turks it was a considerable town, containing at least three thousand inhabitants. Since it has become Russian

it has dwindled down to a dozen wretched huts. It is garrisoned by Russian troops, not one of whom dare venture beyond the walls without an escort of cannon. At night they are obliged even to surround the walls with watch-dogs, so unrelenting is the animosity of the natives, who, from the adjacent eminences, shoot the Russians even in their barrack-yard.

Redout-Kalé, in Mingrelia, is boasted of by the Russians as an emporium of no small importance. The town is situated at a distance of several miles from the coast, on the river Kopi, the ancient Cyanes, in the midst of a marsh covered with reeds fourteen feet high, and of course, in such a climate, about the most insalubrious site that could possibly have been chosen for a great commercial port. Instead of a populous city, as it is usually represented to be, it is almost a desert; its spacious bazaars, which adventurers had filled some years ago with European goods, under the idea of opening a trade by caravans to Persia, Georgia, and the eastern provinces of Russia, are shut up, and the merchants have betaken themselves to the Turkish port of Trebizond, now the most prosperous town on the Euxine.

The improvement of Trebizond has lately attracted the serious attention of the Sultan. It may be said to have three bays, none of which afford, in their present state, secure anchorage. They are all, however, capable of being rendered perfectly safe, and plans have been proposed for the purpose, which are, we believe, still under discussion. In the mean time steam is working its usual wonders in that direction. Trebizond is already a grand dépôt for British manufactures, which are conducted thence by caravans to Persia, and the interior of Asia Minor. Mr. Spencer suggests to our cloth manufacturers the fabrication of those red caps now usually worn by the Turks, which, he thinks, would be certain of finding immediate sale, as they are gradually becoming the head-dress of the whole eastern population. We repeat the hint, as we quite agree with him in thinking that the speculation could hardly fail to be successful. The country surrounding Trebizond is remarkably fertile of nuts, similar to those of Spain, chestnuts and walnuts, which are so good that they form considerable articles of export. The vine and olive might also be cultivated there to a great extent, as well as flax and hemp. But it is as a dépôt for merchandise, to be distributed through a vast and daily improving series of markets, that Trebizond is to be contemplated by British enterprise. In that point of view its rising importance can hardly be exaggerated.

It cannot be doubted that so far as the influence of Russia extends, our commerce will have to meet with every possible

discouragement in all the ports which she can control. Mr. Spencer states, that in a coasting voyage which he made from Odessa round the Crimea, he did not see "a single British flag waving over the blue waters of the Euxine." "Indeed," he adds, "during the whole of my cruises on this sea, I felt as if transported to some unknown hemisphere: for to whatever part of the globe my stars had hitherto guided me, wherever there was a sea, there I found our beloved banner—there I was greeted with the rough but cordial welcome of our gallant tars." At Trebizond, he found the bazaars filled with merchandise, the creation of British industry, and the British flag unfurled over nearly every ship in the harbour; and he very properly recommends that a country of so much importance to our interests as Turkey, ought to be conciliated by all the means which we can bring into action for that purpose.

The works in progress at Sevastopol, which the stipendiary writers of Russia, stationed throughout Europe, have been instructed, from time to time, to underrate, as if they were mere harbour repairs, appear to indicate a settled design upon the part of the Czar to assume the complete dominion of the Euxine. No expense has been spared upon the fortifications, which Mr. Spencer, who went over them, states to be of the most formidable description. They are to be mounted by eight hundred guns. The admiralty, arsenal, and dock-yards, now constructing under the direction of Mr. Upton, an English engineer, are upon a gigantic scale.

"As a sufficient supply of water for the reservoirs could not be procured nearer than at a distance of ten or twelve wersts, yet this obstacle has been surmounted by means of an aqueduct—a most colossal enterprise, and worthy of the best days of Roman grandeur: for we find it at one place tunnelled through a mountain of rock, then thrown across a valley, and, being at the same time tastefully designed, it forms a very pretty feature in the landscape. Indeed, we are every where reminded, at Sevastopol, of the active energy of the Russian government. The ship-builder's axe is constantly heard mingling its sounds with the stone-cutter's chisel. Besides thousands of masons and carpenters, there are thousands of soldiers employed as hodmen: nor are these the only striking evidences of Russian spirit and enterprise; for contiguous to the harbour we find an immense mountain of rock in the act of being removed, in order to afford space for the erection of the admiralty, arsenal, and other public buildings; an undertaking which could only be accomplished in such an empire as this, with its population of serfs and labouring soldiers."—vol. ii. pp. 52-3.

When to the construction of such a maritime station as Sevastopol, in the principal harbour of which the fleets of nations might

ride secure from any storm, we add the fact, as stated by Mr. Spencer, upon official authority, that Russia has in the Euxine a squadron consisting of fourteen line-of-battle ships, eight frigates of sixty guns, five corvettes, ten brigs, four schooners, nine cutters, and seven steamers, besides several transports (under the command of Admiral Lazareff), we must conclude that such preparations as these have some object in view beyond the mere police of that sea. Preponderance over Turkey is thus at once achieved. The power of the Sultan has been forced gradually to recede from the Crimea, to one port after another, along the coasts of Circassia, Mingrelia, and Gouriel, on one side, and from Odessa to Varna on the other. It is true that the efforts of the Czar to control the navigation of the Danube, to which all nations have an undoubted right under the treaty of Vienna, have failed. It is also to be taken into account that the Circassian ports, of which he has no more than military possession, are so many burthens, exhausting his resources—so precarious in possession that he cannot count upon them as Russian even for a week; that all his plans for investing Odessa and Redout-Kalé with commercial importance have been baffled by his own narrow-minded legislation; that Trebizond promises to be the great mart of the Euxine for Asiatic produce and importation, and that his seamen, whom his ice-bound dominions prevent from serving usually more than six months in the year, are infinitely inferior to those of almost any other country. These are all decisive indications of inherent impotency which it will require ulterior measures to overcome. But those measures are obvious—indeed they are proclaimed. The sovereignty of the whole coast of the Euxine, and of the European provinces of Turkey, are essential to his supremacy—and to that great object all his councils tend with an instinctive energy, which would seem to be irresistible.

It is, however, but an apparent exhibition of strength, which, resolved into its elements, ceases to be formidable, at least to England. We can, in the present position of our naval power, imagine no circumstances which could prevent our Mediterranean fleet from penetrating to the Black Sea, and compelling, if we could not “sink, burn, or destroy” them, every Russian boat in those waters to take refuge within the harbour of Sevastopol. It would be an affair of no difficulty to expel the Russians from every nook they possess in Gouriel, Mingrelia and Circassia, and to erect the latter into a barrier, beyond which the Moscovite never again could hope to plant his standard. We have the *power* to do all this—and more—and Russia feels it.

Our Cabinet is perfectly conversant with the details of this question, and prepared to act whenever the fit moment for action shall arrive. It becomes, therefore, unnecessary to assume that Quixotic air of defiance which certain enthusiasts are perpetually forcing upon the public mind of this country, with reference to Eastern affairs. The motives of those gentlemen, no doubt, are highly patriotic; but it would be as well that they should attend to the duties belonging to their own sphere, and leave matters of state policy to the care of those to whom the nation has entrusted them.*

* In the meantime it should be borne in mind that there are no two nations in Europe whose best interests more depend upon the cultivation of mutual amity, than Russia and Great Britain. The pamphlet, whose title stands the last upon our list, furnishes, in a single paragraph, the best "security" into which either could enter for the preservation of "the peace." The whole document is well worthy of consideration.

"A late number of the *Journal of St. Petersburg* contains a continuation of the series of articles, drawn from official sources on the European Trade of the Empire in the year 1835. Under the head of 'European Commerce,' the following information is communicated:—

"The first place in the list is clearly due to Great Britain, whence goods were imported by Russia to the amount of 71,360,613 rubles; and to which country Russian goods were exported to the amount of 90,293,377 R. The chief articles of importation were spun cotton, indigo, dye-wood, salt, coffee, cotton and cotton goods. The exports consisted of tallow, linseed, hemp, wool, bristles, timber, raw hides, and iron. The value of the exports was greater than that of the imports by 13,475,319 R.

"To Turkey (including Greece) were chiefly exported, wheat, iron, tallow, wool; and imported, wine, fruit, olive-oil, cotton, and raw silk. The exports were to the amount of 22,907,195 R.; the imports, of 13,584,884 R. Balance in favour of Russia, 9,382,861 R.

"From the Hans Towns (Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen), the chief imports were silk goods, silk, tobacco, coloured paper, and raw sugar, to the amount of 26,414,483 R. The exports (potash, copper, linseed, furs, lamp-oil, linen, &c.) were to the amount of 6,437,587 R. Balance in favour of the Hans Towns, 20,276,896 R.

"France.—The chief imports from this country were wines; the chief exports to it, copper, hemp, linseed, wool, and bristles. The former were to the amount of 14,437,944 R. (wine forming half the value); the latter, of 8,820,921 R. (including copper, of the value of 3,600,000 R.) Balance in favour of France, 6,157,023 R.

"Austria.—The exports consisted of cattle, wheat, wool, furs, wax, Russian leather, raw hides, &c.; the imports, of scythes and sickles; silk; woollen, silk, and cotton goods. The former were to the value of 10,952,587 R.; the latter of 11,589,997 R. Balance in favour of Austria, 637,410 R.

"Prussia.—The exports were timber, tallow, linseed, hemp, potash, &c.; the imports were silk, silk goods, fish and salt. The former were to the amount of 11,253,223 R.; the latter of 9,416,080 R. Balance in favour of Russia, 1,837,139 R.

"Italy.—The chief imports consisted of fruit, olive oil, &c., to the amount of 4,689,552 R. Wheat, Russian leather, &c., to the amount of 3,438,647 R., were the principal exports. Balance in favour of Italy, 1,250,905 R.

"Holland.—The principal exports were linseed, hemp, timber, potash, copper, &c. to the amount of 10,267,502 R.; the chief imports were madder, tobacco, wine, raw sugar, woollen goods, jewels, &c., to the amount, altogether, of 7,156,312 R. Balance in favour of Russia, 3,111,190 R.

"Spain and Portugal.—The chief exports were flax and hemp; the chief imports

Mr. Spencer's work affords much valuable information upon the actual condition and resources of Circassia. We have been delighted with his descriptions of that beautiful country, and of the customs and manners of the interesting tribes by whom it is chiefly occupied. A considerable portion of both his volumes is dedicated to the purpose of rendering the Circassians more known to Europe, and of obtaining for them, particularly, the sympathies of England, in the struggle upon which they have embarked for the final establishment of their national independence. His efforts promise to be successful. There is a cordiality in his style, superior to all affectation, and a sincerity in his zeal, free from all taint of personal views, which will go far towards recommending his production and his purpose to every class of readers. His flight—for such it was—along the Danube necessarily prevented him from adding any thing of importance to the information previously supplied upon that subject.—Mr. M'Gregor's work on *Austria and the Austrians* is still more deficient upon the latter point, and this is the more to be regretted, as the author does not appear to have been so hurried in his voyage as either of his two predecessors. It must also be remarked, that from negligence, or from some other cause, perhaps indisposition, or absence from London during the printing of his volumes, they abound in faults of style, and even grammatical errors for which a school boy would be punished. But, on the other hand, we cannot too much applaud the spirit of truth, the total freedom from religious and political prejudices, in which the whole of his work is penned. It contains much valuable statistical information relative, particularly, to the Archduchy of Austria, and it gives a juster picture of the real happiness enjoyed by the inhabitants of that favoured district than any other book with which we are acquainted. Commercial men will find much useful matter in Mr. Triebner's report, and the “statistical account” mentioned at the head of this article.

wine and salt. The former were, altogether, to the amount of 3,248,626 R.; the latter of 4,612,626 R. Balance in favour of Spain and Portugal, 1,363,881 R.

“Sweden and Norway.—The chief exports were hemp, tallow, linseed, and linen; the chief article of importation was fish. The former were to the value of 3,534,419 R.; the latter of 4,196,622 R. Balance in favour of Sweden and Norway, 662,203 R.

“Denmark.—The exports were linseed, flax, hemp, timber, &c. to the amount, altogether, of 5,454,886 R. The imports were of different foreign goods, to the value of 1,514,533 R. Balance in favour of Russia, 3,940,353 R.

ART. X.—*Théorie Analytique des Probabilités.* Par M. le Marquis de Laplace, &c. &c. 3ième édition. Paris. 1820.

IN continuing our remarks upon the work of which the title is now before the reader's eye, we must remind him that we have not room to enter at length upon the subject. We have already discussed considerations of a practical character, tending to shew that upon several questions, in which recourse is actually had to the theory of probabilities, insufficiency of information produces effects prejudicial to the pecuniary interests of those concerned. This is indeed a strong point: we might urge any plan of prospective utility upon the English public, till we were tired, and without awakening the least attention. Nor would there be any reason to complain of such a result; for the present is an age of suggestions, and every person who can read and write has some scheme in hand, by which the community is to be advantaged: no wonder, then, that so few of the speculations in question have more than one investigator. But when we speak of the theory of probabilities, we bring forward a something upon which, right or wrong, many tens of millions of pounds sterling depend. The insurance offices, the friendly societies, all annuitants and all who hold life interests of any species—again, all who insure their goods from fire, or their ships from wreck—are visibly and immediately interested in the dissemination of correct principles upon probability in general. So much for that which actually is invested: now with regard to that which might be, let it be remembered, that whenever money is hazarded in commerce or manufactures, by those who would resign the possibility of more than average profit, if they might thereby be secured from the risk of disastrous loss, the desired arrangement is rendered impossible, by the want of knowledge how to apply the theory of probabilities, combined with the defect of methodized information upon the contingencies in question.

The name of the *theory of probabilities* is odious in the eyes of many, for, as all the world knows, it is the new phrase for the computation of chances, the instrument of gamblers, and, for a long time, of gamblers only; meaning, by that word, not the people who play with stocks and markets, but with cards, dice, and horses. Such an impression was the inevitable consequence of the course pursued by the earlier writers on the subject, who filled their books entirely with problems relative to games of chance. This was not so much a consequence of the nature of the subject, as of the state of mathematical knowledge at the

time : games of chance, involving a given and comparatively small number of cases, are of easy calculation, and require only the application of simple methods ; while questions of natural philosophy, or concerning the common affairs of life, involve very large numbers of cases, and require a more powerful analysis. Consequently, the older works abound with questions upon games of chance, while later writings begin to display the power of applying the very same principles to wider as well as more useful inquiries.

This objection to the tendency of the theory of probability, or the doctrine of chances, is as old as the time of De Moivre ; who was not, however, able to meet it, by extending the subject matter of his celebrated treatise. In the second edition, published in 1738, he writes thus, in his dedication to a Lord Carpenter : “ There are many people in the world who are prepossessed with an opinion, that the doctrine of chances has a tendency to promote play ; but they soon will be undeceived, if they think fit to look into the general design of this book. In the mean while, it will not be improper to inform them, that your lordship is pleased to espouse the patronage of this second edition,” &c. &c. The general design of De Moivre’s work appears to be, the analysis of every game of chance which prevailed in his time ; and the author seems to have imagined that he could not attract attention to any other species of problems.

In reviewing the *general design* of the work of Laplace, we desire to make the description of a book mark the present state of a science. In any other point of view, it would be superfluous to give an account of a standard treatise, which is actually in the hands of a larger number of persons than are able to read it.

In considering simple questions of chances, we place ourselves, at the outset, in hypothetical possession of a set of circumstances, and attribute to ourselves exact and rigorous knowledge. We assume that we positively know every case that can arrive, and also that we can estimate the relative probabilities of the several cases. This of itself has a tendency to mislead the beginner, because these known circumstances are generally expressed by means of some simple gambling hypothesis. A set of balls which have been drawn, 88 white and 4 black, places us in the same position with regard to our disposition to expect white or black for the future, as that in which we should stand if we had observed 88 successful and 4 unsuccessful speculations in a matter of business : it matters nothing as to the amount of the chances for the future, whether the observed event be called the drawing of a white ball, or the acquirement of a profit. Never-

theless, the abstraction of the idea of probability from the circumstances under which it is presented, sometimes throws a difficulty in the way.

The science of probability has also this in common with others, that the problems which most naturally present themselves in practice are of an inverse character, as compared with those which an elementary and deductive course first enables the student to solve. If we know that out of 1000 infants born, 900 live a year, it is sufficiently easy to understand why we say that it is nine to one any specified individual of them will live a year. But seeing that we can only arrive at such knowledge by observation, and also that such observation must be limited, there arises this very obvious preliminary question—Having registered a certain thousand infants, and found that, *of that thousand*, nine hundred were alive at the end of a year, what presumption arises from thence that something like the same proportion would obtain if a second thousand were registered? For instance, would it be wise to lay an even bet that the results of the second trial would exhibit something between 850 and 950, in place of 900? Or, to generalize the form of the question, let us imagine a thousand balls to have been drawn from a lottery containing an infinite number; of which it is found that there are 721 white, 116 red, and 163 black. We may then ask, what degree of presumption ought to be considered as established—1. That the contents of the lottery are all white, red, and black, and of no other colour? 2. That the white and red balls are distributed throughout the whole mass, nearly in the proportion of 721 white to 116 red? This is a question which must present itself previously to the deduction of any inference upon the probable results of future drawings: but at the same time, it is not of the most direct and easy class, requiring, in fact, the previous discussion of many methods which are subsequent in the order of application.

It is common to assume that any considerable number of observations will give a result nearly coinciding with the average of the whole. The constructors of the Northampton and Carlisle tables (see the last Number, p. 344) did not think it necessary to ask whether 2,400 and 861 cases of mortality would of themselves furnish a near approximation to the law which actually prevails in England. It had been long admitted, or supposed, that a considerable number of deaths (no definite number being specified) would present a table of mortality, such as might be depended upon for pecuniary transactions. It is true that such is the case; but the proposition is one requiring that sort of examination and demonstration which Laplace has

given. We shall *not* stop to rebut any conclusion which might be drawn against the utility of the theory, from the circumstance of common sense having felt for and attained some of its most elaborate results: but we *shall* stop to remark, that in the case of a speculation, so very delicate, so very liable to be misunderstood, and, above all, accessible to so small a part of the educated world, it is a great advantage that there exist such landmarks, as propositions which, though distant results of theory, yet coincide with the notions of the world at large, and are supposed to have evidence of their own.

When we have learnt that the result of analysis agrees with general opinion, in admitting the safety of relying upon a comparatively small number of cases to determine a general average, we then become disposed to rely on the same analysis for correctly determining the probable limits of accidental fluctuation.

The two-fold object of the theory is, then, firstly, to determine the mean, or average state of things; secondly, to ascertain what degree of fluctuation may be reasonably expected. Let it be remarked, that the common theory of chances applies itself almost entirely to the first-mentioned problem: when we say that we determine the probability of an event to be two-sevenths, we mean, that, taking every possible case in which the said event can happen, we shall find that it will happen twice out of seven times. Such is then the general average: but, supposing that we select 700 possible cases out of the whole, it does not therefore become probable, or more likely than not, that the event shall happen precisely 200 times, and fail precisely 500 times. All that becomes very likely is, that the number of arrivals shall be nearly 200, and of non-arrivals nearly 500; and it is one of the most important objects of the theory, to ascertain within what limits there is a given amount of probability that the departure from the general average shall be contained.

The question thus enunciated is of no small practical importance, and to the neglect of it we must attribute the supposed necessity for the large capitals with which many undertakings are commenced. (See last Number, p. 342.) Let us imagine an insurance office to be founded, and, for the sake of simplicity, let it take no life except at the age of 30. Let the materials for its management consist in the examination of a register of 1,000 lives, which have been found to drop in the manner pointed out, say by the Carlisle table. The premium which should be demanded is then easily ascertained; but its security depends upon two circumstances—1. That the 1,000 lives so recorded, shall represent the general mortality. 2. That the

amount of business obtained by the office, shall be so large as to render their actual experience another representation of the same general average. Neither of these conditions can be precisely attained; some small allowance must be made for both; and the question is, what amount of additional premium is necessary to cover the risk of fluctuation?—what number of insured lives will be sufficient to begin with?—or, supposing that all risks are to be taken, what is the smallest capital upon which a commencement can prudently be made, without any security for a large amount of business?

Perhaps we could not in fewer words convey an idea of the different states of the science in the times of De Moivre and Laplace, than by stating, that the former could have ascertained the requisite premium, and that the latter could have made the necessary additions for fluctuation, &c.

We now pass from matters of business,—as to which we can only say what might be done,—to questions connected with the sciences of observation and experiment, in which we can appeal to what has been done. In every branch of inquiry which involves the actual use of our physical senses, the repetition of a process will always afford a series of discordances, varying in amount with the method used, the skill of the observer, and the nature of the observation. If the observed discordances present anything like uniformity of character, we are naturally led to conclude, that they are not, properly speaking, the results of errors of observation, but of some unknown law, by which the predicted or expected result is modified. If the discrepancy merely arise from error of observation, we must suppose that it will be sometimes of one kind and sometimes of another; sometimes producing a result larger than might have been expected, and sometimes smaller. Now, having noticed a set of observations which do not agree, it is one of the first objects of the theory to settle what presumption should exist that the variations are accidental (that is, totally unregulated by apparent or discoverable law), or that they follow a law which then becomes the object of investigation. The case taken by Laplace, as an illustration, will do for the same purpose here. It was suspected that, independently of local fluctuations, the barometer was always a little higher in the morning than in the afternoon. To settle this point, four hundred days were chosen, in which the barometer was remarkably steady, not varying four millimetres in any one day. This was done to avoid the large fluctuations, which would have rendered the changes in question, if such there were, imperceptible. It was found that the sum of the heights of the barometer at nine in the morning, exceeded the sum

of the heights at four in the afternoon, by four hundred millimetres,—or, one day with another, by a millimetre a day. But what can we infer from such a circumstance, is the first suggestion? A millimetre, or about the twenty-fifth part of an inch, is so very small a variation, that considering the nature of the observation, and the imperfections of the instrument, it seems, at first, perfectly admissible, that mere instrumental error might have occasioned such a discrepancy. The theory of probabilities gives an entirely different notion: it appears that it is many millions to one against such a phenomenon presenting itself, upon the supposition that it was produced by nothing but the casual imperfections of the instrument. A very great probability was therefore given to the supposition, that there really exists a diurnal variation of the barometer, in virtue of which, *ceteris paribus*, it is a little higher at one particular part of the day than at another.

In this way, Laplace actually used the theory of probabilities as a method of discovery. He expressly affirms (p. 355), that the irregularity in the lunar motions, which he afterwards showed to depend on the figure of the earth, was pointed out to him as not being of a merely casual character, by his having “*soumis son existence au calcul des probabilités.*” Of another of his most brilliant results, he says as distinctly (p. 356), “*L’Analyse des probabilités m’a conduit pareillement à la cause des grandes irregularités de Jupiter et de Saturne.*” There is much in these assertions which will appear not a little singular, even to those versed in the subject. But, there are two circumstances which afford presumption, not only of the good faith of Laplace, but of his freedom from a mistaken bias for a favourite subject. In the first place, it somewhat lowers the opinion which the world at large entertains of a philosopher, when he is found using means, instead of penetrating mysteries by pure thought. The Newton of the world at large sat down under a tree, saw an apple fall, and after an intense reverie, the length of which is not stated, got up, with the theory of gravitation well planned, if not fit to print. It is painful to be obliged to add, that the Newton of Trinity College Cambridge, of whom there is no manner of doubt that he was the hero of the preceding myth, not only was to a large extent indebted to the perusal of what his predecessors had written, but went through years of deduction and comparison,—abandoned his theory, on account of its non-agreement with some existing observations,—took it up again upon trial when new sets of observations had been made,—and, in point of fact, went through a detail which was a great deal more like a book-keeping operation, than the poetical process of

the fable. Partial as Laplace might be to the theory of probabilities, we question the likelihood of his being so far wedded to it, as to wish it should appear that he had used a method, instead of unassisted sagacity. The fault of discoverers generally lies in an opposite extreme: they conceal the simple suggestions which led them on the road, and by presenting a finished and elaborate train of deduction, rather strive to provoke applause, than to facilitate imitation. In the second place, Laplace made the theory of probabilities overturn results, as well as establish them. One of the most difficult and original inquiries in which he engaged, was the question of the *tides in the atmosphere*, answering to those in the ocean, and produced by the same causes. That such tides must exist, to some degree or other, cannot be questioned by any one who admits the theory of gravitation: the point was to ascertain what the laws of the phenomenon ought to be, and whether corresponding appearances could be detected to any *sensible* extent. Laplace investigated the deduction of the law in a brilliant manner,—and carefully examined barometrical observations, which of course exhibited a mixed amount of error and actually prevailing law. But upon submitting the result to the test of the theory of probabilities, there was not found to be strong presumption that any part of the diurnal variation arose from such a law as was shewn by theory to be a consequence of the luni-solar action: and the theory, beautiful as it is, was honestly abandoned. We assume then, that Laplace did not deceive himself, when he attributed a part of his success in the explanation of the phenomena, to his use of the theory of probabilities; and we pass on to another division of the subject.

All observations are liable to error: if we were to take, for instance, all the altitudes which had ever been measured by a given theodolite and a given observer,—and if we could ascertain what the correct truth was in each instance, we should find many observations wrong by half-a-minute or less; but much fewer in number wrong by something more than half a minute. The *law of facility* of error, is a term we use to express the chance of an error being under a given amount: to speak mathematically, let ϕx express the chance, that the error of a single observation is not so great as x , then the function ϕx is called the law of facility. Nothing can be more obvious than that the law of facility may vary with the phenomenon to be observed, the general character of the observer, his state of body or mind for the time, &c. &c.

At the same time, there is one conclusion in which all the scientific world was agreed, on every subject, for every instru-

ment, &c.; namely, that when a number of observations disagreed with each other, the way of determining their most probable result, was to take the *average* of all the observations. But it must be obviously proper to ask, can this method be true, whatever might have been the qualities of the observer, the instrument, &c.? Is it likely that the same rule for deducing the probable truth would apply to the bungler and the practised observer, the near and the far-sighted,—to Hipparchus without a telescope, missing whole degrees, and Bradley, with his zenith sector, measuring seconds? There never was perhaps a case, in which the application of strict investigation was more likely to play havoc with the prevailing opinion of preceding ages. Such was not, however, the case; and we have here a striking instance of the manner in which existing notions have been confirmed by the march of science.

The theory of probabilities draws a remarkable distinction between observations which have been made, and those which are to be made. Suppose it required of an experimentor, that he should choose his method of treating his results previously to obtaining them, and then, whatever his tendency to err may be, provided only that he is not more likely to measure too much than too little,—or, in technical language, that positive and negative errors are equally likely,—the method of averaging is the best which he can take. But let him be allowed to defer his choice of a process until the observations are finished, and the process of averaging is not then the best which can be chosen, unless it can be shown that one particular law of facility, pointed out by the theory, is the one to which he is really subject. Some little account of the reason of this paradox may be easily given. The probability of any event is not a quality of the event itself, but an impression of the mind, depending upon our state of knowledge with regard to the causes of the event. If A feel certain that an urn contains nothing but white balls, and B that half of its contents are black, the two are really in different circumstances, and the probability of a drawing being white is not the same to both. Now *before* the observations are made, there is no presumption to guide the observer in suspecting any law of facility; but afterwards, the observations themselves furnish an imperfect knowledge of the nature of the law of facility. For instance, this much at least will be seen, that if the results of observation be near to each other, the tendency to error is small, and if they differ very much, the same tendency is considerable. Now since it is always competent to the observer to choose his method of proceeding when he pleases; it follows, that the common notion cannot be strictly applicable to the results of any case.

But, at the same time it appeared, singularly enough, that whatever the law of facility may be, the more numerous the observations, the more nearly does their average present the most probable result. And more than this, the approximation implied in the preceding sentence takes place so rapidly, that a moderate number of observations is sufficient to allow of its application. There is another consideration, which cannot well be explained to any but the mathematician ; namely, that the law of facility, under which the average is strictly the most probable result, contains an arbitrary constant, by means of which a particular case of it may be made a sufficient approximation to any law of facility which can be believed to exist. Practically then, the method of averaging, as universally used, has that tendency to promote correctness, as compared with other methods, which it has always been thought to have.

As it is rather our object to shew the bearings of the science on the notions of mankind, than to make a digest of results, we shall here take notice of another theorem, in which propositions, generally admitted, but apparently wholly unconnected, are shewn to be dependent, so that one of them cannot be true without the other. It has not been noticed by Laplace, but has been deduced by ourselves from the principles employed by him and all other writers.

Firstly,—the value of any sum of money is always considered as dependent upon the whole of which it forms a part. A guinea is *nothing* to a rich man, but *a great deal* to a poor man; and, on the same principle, no trader contemplates the gain or loss of a given sum, otherwise than with reference to the whole capital which is invested to produce it. Among the various ways in which a part may be compared with the whole, the simple proportion, per centage, or whatever it may be called, is that which is universally adopted ; we shall say, then, that the value of any piece of money is to be measured by its proportion to the whole sum of which it is considered as a part.

Secondly,—the effect of life insurance is considered, in a point of view imported by its name : it is not called the insurance of a certain sum *at death*, but the insurance of *life*. It is then taken as placing every person who avails himself of it, in the position of being sure to live a certain time. But, if we consider that those who live long must pay more than they receive, in order that those who die before their time may receive more than they pay, it is clear, that life insurance amounts to an equalization of life, or the assigning to each person the average share of life. Thus the effect of guaranteeing sums of money

at death, for premiums properly calculated, is equivalent to insuring the average term of life.

These two propositions, both, to all appearance, highly reasonable in themselves, are not visibly connected with each other; either might be true, it should seem, without the other. But this is not the fact; for it can be shown, that if either of them be false, the other falls with it. If, for instance, a person should affirm, that a guinea, to a man who is insured for a hundred, is to be considered as precisely the same thing to him as the same sum is to another person insured for a thousand, then it can be proved that he contradicts himself, if he imagine that the effect of life insurance is equivalent to the equalization of life in all persons who begin at the same age. There is great analogy between the dependence just explained, and that which prevails between the method of averaging, and the existence of one particular law of facility; and many common notions, examined by the test of the theory of probability, will either confute or confirm each other.

The crowning proposition in the application of the theory to natural philosophy, is undoubtedly that known as the *method of least squares*, to which astronomy, in particular, lies under very great obligations. In fact, we may safely say, that the time must have arrived, when, but for this aid, additional observation would have ceased to carry additional accuracy into our knowledge of the celestial motions. It will somewhat diminish the effect of the technical term "method of least squares," if we state, that the method of averaging is a particular case of it, so that a farmer, who calculates his probable crop by taking an average bushel from his several soils, proceeds by the method of least squares, as much as an astronomer, who uses it to determine the elements of a comet's orbit. We remember having heard the following problem proposed, which is an ingenious illustration of the cases to which the method applies. A large target is erected, with a small chalk mark, (not necessarily in the middle) and a number of persons, all of whom are tolerably certain of hitting the target, and all of whom are equally likely to miss the chalk in any direction from it, fire in succession, say with sharp-pointed arrows. The chalk is then rubbed out, and the target, with all the arrows sticking in it, is presented to a mathematician, who is required to say what point, judging from the position of the arrows, is the one which was fired at. His investigation will lead him to the following result; he must ascertain that point in the target, from which, if lines were drawn to all the points of the arrows, the sum of the squares of those

lines would be the least possible. From the answer to such questions always requiring the sum of certain squares to be made the least possible, the method derives its name. It is not of course asserted, that the process described would infallibly discover the place where the chalk mark existed; but if the same person were to try the method upon a hundred such targets, losing at the rate of a given sum for every inch by which he was wrong, he would certainly lose less by acting in the manner described than by any other process.

Singularly enough, it was not as a result of the theory of probabilities, but as a convenient and easily practicable process, that the method of least squares first appeared. Legendre and Gauss, independently of each other (though the former first published it) saw the utility of such an addition to astronomical computation. It is to Laplace that we owe its introduction as the best theoretical mode of ascertaining the *most probable* result of discordant observations. His investigation wants clearness and elegance; but is in other respects one of his most brilliant labours. The beauty, generality, and simplicity of the result secured for it an immediate admission into every process, though the demonstration is of a kind which there are not many to understand: the process is one which has the air of being highly probable, and seems in itself to be free from objections which might be proposed against any other method. But at the same time it appears to us, that many have used it without a thorough comprehension of its meaning; and just as we now say that astronomy must have stopped its career of increasing accuracy, if the method of least squares had not been introduced, so we will venture to hope the time must come when the same remark shall be made upon an improved and extended way of using it.

The difficulty of admitting several points connected with the theory of probabilities, arises from the neglect to make an important distinction; namely, between the correctness or incorrectness of the hypothesis assumed, and that of the inferences which are drawn from it. Let it be proposed to apply mathematical reasoning to the valuation of the credibility of evidence, and the answer appears simple—namely, that such a proposition must be the result of an overheated imagination. This would be a fair answer if it were required to apply calculation to the character and actions of a given man, with a view of ascertaining whether he were likely or not to tell the truth in a particular case. Mathematics will not tell us whether A and B are credible witnesses, nor whether, supposing them credible, their evidence will be as much as should in prudence be considered sufficient for the establishment of any particular point. Nor will mathematics enable us to measure a length in feet, or to reason upon

it, unless we first know by other than mathematical means, what is that length which it is agreed to call a foot. But let a foot be known, and we can then assign lines, areas, and solids, by means of numbers; and, in like manner, let the credibility of one witness be given, and we can then determine that which results from the joint evidence of two or more, or from the evidence of any number, contradicted by any other number. By the credibility of a witness, we are supposed to mean the probability that an assertion advanced by him will be correct, the moment before the assertion is made.

For instance, suppose it admitted that a jury of twelve men, all equally likely to be correct in any particular verdict, decide wrongly once out of fifty times. It is matter of pure algebra to find out how often each of them, using his own unassisted judgment, would come to erroneous decisions. It is also the province of algebra to determine how often a jury would err, if, upon the preceding hypothesis as to the correctness of twelve men, the number were reduced or increased. Laplace, and others before him, have made extensive applications of analysis to such questions; but their labours in this respect have been misunderstood, and always must be, until the province of mathematical reasoning is better understood by the world at large.

We have now, we believe, briefly touched upon the principal subjects which are to be found in the *Théorie des Probabilités*. The subject is one which must make its way slowly, having to extricate itself from its old connexion with games of chance, before it can take its proper place as an agent in statistical and political enquiry. One of our principal objects in writing the present articles has been to show that the nature of probability may be treated, and its results applied, without the mention of dice or cards. Laplace himself has introduced a few problems connected with common gambling, in some instances on account of their historical notoriety, in others because they afforded easy and striking examples of the application of generating functions, the theory of which was introduced in his work. But the greater part of the treatise is full of such questions as those which have been alluded to in the preceding pages, bearing in the most direct manner on the way to draw correct inferences from physical and statistical facts.

If we can make a few reflecting individuals understand, that, be the theory of probabilities true or false, valuable or useless, its merits must be settled by a reference to something more than the consideration of a few games at cards, we shall have done all which we ventured to propose to ourselves.

ART. XI.—Summary Review of Italian and German Catholic Literature, from January to June 1837.

THE field of Italian Catholic Literature is neither as varied nor as extensive as that of France, Germany, and England. Italy has not, like France, suffered from the ravages of systematic infidelity, nor has the press teemed with two classes of works, entirely opposite in their nature, one of which is filled with attacks on every thing that is Catholic or that is Christian, while the other is employed in exposing the errors and confuting the attacks made in the former. This description of works has appeared chiefly in France, during the last and present century, and each day a new party of combatants has appeared on the lists: but, from these systematic attacks, Italy has been free, and consequently, in a notice of its literature at the present period, the reader is not wearied with a continual series of works, in the very titles of which, every Christian discerns a fresh insult on his religion. Italy has, moreover, maintained in a very large majority the religion of ancient times; nor are the different states divided into an endless variety of religious opinions. England and Germany hear of nothing, in religious literature, except the controversial publications of one or other of these parties; each sect in England or Germany has its apostles and its champions, whose works, applauded by their own party, and censured and condemned by the rest of the nation, agitate the minds of men, and too often, unfortunately, break the bonds of charity and peace. Italy, on the other hand, has felt the benefits and seen the advantages of uniformity in belief. From these two classes of combatants—those who attack religious opinions in particular, and those who endeavour to uproot religion altogether—literature in general has acquired a tinge, which affects, more or less, nearly all works, even though not professedly on religious subjects; and the opponents of these two parties, seek, in like manner, to stamp on their works the impress and seal of their body, and they endeavour to influence, through them, the manner of thinking of their readers, even in religious matters. The people of Italy have always been accustomed to consider every thing in a Catholic view; and the absence of such parties has also produced the absence of that character which has marked the productions of other countries, and which has insinuated into all literature the peculiar tenets of the authors of works, or the party to which they belong.

The publications in Italy may be divided, on religious sub-

jects, into two classes: the first comprises all those works which treat of the doctrines or mysteries of religion, whether in the severer form of theological treatises for the use of the clergy, or in the more familiar one of popular instructions; the second class contains those numerous works which tend to excite devotion, or to clothe it with expression. From these two classes we except, of course, works of general literature, history, and the arts, which do not partake of a religious character; and we except, likewise, works of periodical literature, the chief of which we intend to mention at present.

The first of these is the *Annali delle Scienze Religiose*, from the title of which, an idea may be formed of the subjects on which it treats. It is published quarterly, at Rome, under the direction of the Abate de Luca, assisted by several of his friends, and is conducted with much ability.

The *Propagatore Religioso*, is published at Turin. The subjects of this publication resemble those of the former work; and to the end of each number are generally appended literary notices.

The *Pragmologia Cattolica* resembles the latter; it is published at Lucca.

The *Memorie di Religione, di Morale e di Letteratura*, appears at Modena; the title sufficiently explains the kind of subjects which it selects.

With the exception of the *Annali*, these publications are monthly. In Biblical Literature, the principal recent publications are:—

La Sacra Bibbia di Vene, giusta la quinta edizione, del Sigr. Drach, con atlante e carte: per cura del Prof. Bartolomeo Catena, Bibliotecario dell' Ambrosiana.—This work is not yet completed. Eight octavo volumes of it have appeared at Milan, and the remainder is in course of publication.

La Sacra Bibbia secondo la Volgata, colla Versione di Monsgr. A. Martini, e colla Spiegazione, &c. di L. J. Maistre de Sacq.—This work is also publishing at Milan, and will be completed in twenty volumes octavo.

La Sacra Bibbia seconda la Volgata: tradotta e con annotazioni di chiarata di Mgr. Martini. Florence. 3 vols. 8vo. 62f. 58c.

A new edition of St. Augustine's works is in course of publication at Venice, and is dedicated to his Holiness Gregory XVI. *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera, studio monachorum S. Mauri, post editionem, Parisiensem, Antverpiensem, et Venetam.* Three volumes, folio, have appeared.

Amongst the Theological Works may be noticed the following:—

Il Trionfo della Santa Sede, in 4 vols. 8vo. Venice.—This splendid work is from the pen of his Holiness the present Pontiff, and has appeared in several forms, at Venice and in other places.

Lectiones Theologicæ quas in Collegio Romano habebat Joannes Perone, S. J.—This work is intended to form a complete course of modern and ancient dogmatical theology. The learned author is Pro-

fessor of Theology in the Roman College, which is under the direction of the Jesuits. Four volumes, octavo, have been printed, and a fifth is now in the press: three others will complete the work. We propose to give a more detailed account of this able work on a future occasion.

Opere Complete di Liguori. Venice, 16mo.—Volumes 67-8 have just been published.

Lezioni di Diritto Canonico; corredate di Note e d'Illustrazioni dal Prof. P. Vermiglioli. Perugia.—To be completed in 5 vols. 8vo. two of which have been printed.

Connected with Ecclesiastical History are the following:—

I Scoli Cristiani, ossia Storia de Cristianesmo, del Abate Ducrux. Vigevano. 4 vols. 8vo.

Two editions of the *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, are in preparation at Rome. The first is to be a complete edition of the entire work; two parts are to be published every month, each of them to contain ten sheets: the subscribers' price will be two francs for each part. His Holiness has graciously ordered all the Archives to be opened to the editors, and has afforded them every encouragement in their undertaking. The other edition will contain merely the supplement, from 1758 to 1830, and will be completed in the same form and at the same price, with the foregoing. Two volumes have already been published.

The Biographical Works are chiefly—*Vita di S. Filippo Neri*, scritta da P. G. Bacci. Venice. 8vo. 3 vols. *Raccolta di Vite di Sancte Vergine e Vedove.* Turin. A new edition of the Life of St. Philip Neri is commenced at Rome.

The Books of Instruction are very numerous, but we can mention merely a few of them. *Collezioni di Opere di Religione distinta in tre Classi.* Vols. III, IV, V, VI and VII, have just been published at Venice; they contain—*Introduzione allo Studio della Religione*, del Cardinale Gerdil; *Testimonianze tratte della Filosofia di Bacone, Cartesio e Malebranche*; *Trattato di Bossuet della Cognizione di Dio e di se medesimo*; *Della existenza di Dio*, di Fenelon. Each volume 87c.

Opere, di Segneri. Milan. To be complete in four large, or ten small volumes. It will form the most accurate edition of the works of this most eminent preacher.

Raccolta di Opere Sacri, per uso di ogni fedel Cristiano, publishing in parts at Leghorn.

Spiagazzoni Evangeliche per tutto l'Anno, di G. Maggi. Milan. 2 vols. 4to.

Quadro del Cristianesmo. Ferrara. 1 vol 8vo.

Biblioteca per parochi di Campagna. Venice. 8 vols. 8vo. Each volume 1fr. 74c.

Compendio della Dottrina Cristiana, exposto da Mgr. F. Bonesio, Vescovo di Bobbio. Cremona. 1 vol. 12mo.

Compendio del V. Testamento. 1 vol. 8vo. Venice.

Discorsi Morali tratti dai Santi Padri. Naples. 1 vol. 8vo.

Della vera Autorita de' Santi Padri, del Sacer. D. Zelo. Naples.

Elogi Sacri di D. Tonti. Naples. 1 vol. 8vo.

Raggionamento sul Culto di S. Filomena V.M. del Sacer. F. Stoccare. Genova. 1 vol. 8vo.

Dizzionario Sacro-Liturgico, del Sacer. Giov. Dichlich. Venice. 4 vols. 8vo. Each vol. 2fr. 61c.

Omelie di Mons. G. M. Luvini, Vescovo di Pesaro. Florence. 1 vol. large 8vo. 3fr. 26c.

Dizzionario Apostolico, per uso dei predicatori. Del P. Giacinto di Montargon. 18 vols. large 8vo. Venice.

Instruzioni Morali sopra la Dottrina Cristiana. Opera di Bresanvido. Naples, 6 vols. 8vo.

Our arrangements do not allow us, as yet, to enter as fully as we propose, into the ampler and richer department of German religious literature. This arises from no dearth of materials, which are easily accumulated, but rather from the obstacles in the way of arranging and methodising them in a satisfactory manner. On this account, we shall content ourselves with naming a few of the most important works which have been published since the commencement of the year.

Die Christliche Mystic. Christian Mystics. By J. Görres. Ratisbon and Landshut. Two volumes, 8vo. of this curious work appeared last year; the third is, we believe, in course of publication. It is a book calculated to produce a deep impression in Germany.

Friedrich Schlegel's *Philosophische Vorlesungen aus den Jahren 1804-bis-1806.* Aus dem Nachlass des Verewigten herausgegeb. von C. J. H. Windischmann. 2 Th. F. Schlegel's Philosophical Lectures delivered in the years 1804-6. Edited, from the immortal author's papers, by C. Windischmann. Bonn. These were early forerunners of those maturer views which have conferred immortality on the illustrious Schlegel. They treat of logic, metaphysics, and the history of the ancient philosophical systems. They are more formal and scholastic than any of his subsequent courses. The second volume, just published, (the first appeared last year,) contains, in addition, other fragments, theological and philosophical, of the illustrious Schlegel's later life. The editor, every way worthy of him, has added valuable notes to correct his opinions, held before he had the happiness to know the truth and embrace it; and has enriched the work with a valuable sketch of his philosophical career.

Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts aller Christlichen Confessionen. Course of the Ecclesiastical Law of all Christian Persuasions. By Ferd. Walther. 8vo. Bonn. This is the seventh edition of this excellent, and now improved work. Its author, son-in law to the editor of the last-mentioned work, and professor at Bonn, has, we understand, lately received, from his Holiness, the Cross of St. Gregory.

An abridgment of Dr. Döllinger's excellent Church History, is coming out at Ratisbon and Landshut, under the title of *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte.* His larger work will be entitled to a fuller notice in the body of our Review.

Another elementary course has appeared at Bonn, with nearly the

same title, by Dr. Ritter, professor at Breslau: *Handbuch der Kirchenges.* Manual of Church History. 2d edition.

Geschichtliche Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen Kirche und Staat. Historical Exposition of the Relations between Church and State, from the foundation of Christianity to the latest times. By Prof. C. Rieffel. Vol. I., large 8vo. reaching to Justinian I. Mayence. An excellent work, and written in a very sound spirit.

Pragmatische Geschichte der deutschen National, Provinzial, und vorzüglichsten Diözesanconcilien. History of the German national, provincial, and most important Diocesan Synods. By Dr. A. J. Binterim. Large 8vo. Mayence. Several volumes of this most important work have appeared, and add much to the great reputation their author already enjoyed, as a Christian antiquarian. The second volume brings down the collection only to the middle of the ninth century.

Die Christliche Moral. Christian Morality. By Dr. John Bat. Kirscher, an eminent professor of Tübingen. 2nd edit. Tübing.

Katholische-speculative Theologie. Vol. I.—A new and masterly defence of the Christian and Catholic religion, by the celebrated Dr. Brenner, in which he retracts some earlier inaccurate opinions.

Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten. History of the Reign of Ferdinand I. Compiled from edited and inedited sources, by F. B. Von Racholtz. Vol. VII. Vienna. The author of this celebrated and important work has had access to all the repositories of public documents in Austria. It is eminently a Catholic work, and deserves a fuller attention than this place allows.

An excellent pamphlet, proving the necessity of a visible church, has been published, under the title of *Leib der Göttlichen Offenbarung.* The body of Divine Revelation. We may also notice, that a powerful reply has appeared, at Mayence, to attacks made by Marheincke and Nitrah, upon Mühl's Symbolik.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Europe.

AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS.—A legacy of about £41,000 sterling has been left for the foundation of a college at Verona, to be placed under the direction of the members of the Society of Jesus. The Austrian government has consented to this application of the bequest, and the college will soon be opened. The son of Prince Canosa, and another young nobleman of the same city, have lately entered the noviciate of the order in Rome.

The inhabitants of Milan are actively employed in raising funds for a new cathedral, in honour of their holy patron, St. Charles Borromeo. The plan of Professor Charles Amati has been selected; and the

cathedral is to occupy the site of the present Church of St. Mary of the Servites, which is dedicated to St. Charles. The city has undertaken to pay the expenses of demolishing the present church, of clearing the ground, and erecting the monument, and has, further, subscribed the sum of £12,500 towards the new building. It is expected that the work will commence next year at latest. The other expenses will be defrayed by the parochial administration of the old church, and by a subscription which was opened in the spring of this year.

A few months ago, M. Lezi, curate of St. Mary's in the above city, established an asylum for the infirm in his parish. His example was imitated by other parishes, and by the assistance of the authorities, four hospitals have been founded. The last of them was opened on the 30th of April, under the patronage of St. Charles Borromeo.

The Catholic papers mention two conversions during the last year at Vienna. Louis d'Or, a native of Berlin, and formerly professor in the Royal Academy of Saxony, and Dr. G. C. Bunger, one of the most famous Protestant preachers, formerly of Dresden, and lately of Bautzen, made their profession of faith in the hands of Cardinal Ostini, Nuncio at Vienna, during the course of the year.

The *Swabian Mercury* has the following: "The Brothers of Mercy have established in the whole Austrian Dominions twenty-nine hospitals for the sick. It is calculated that during six years one hundred thousand sick have entered them; and amongst these many Jews and persons not of the Catholic faith, or even of the Austrian nation."

HUNGARY.—The new cathedral at Erlaw has lately been opened. It is three hundred feet in length, and one hundred and sixty-eight in breadth at the transept. The front consists of eight large columns, surmounted by three colossal statues of the three virtues. In the interior are forty-two pilasters and thirty-six columns, all of marble, and the pavement is one entire beautiful mosaic. The building of this cathedral was determined on, when the cholera appeared in 1831, and it has been completed in six years.

In the whole kingdom of Hungary, of an extent of 6,000 square miles, no lunatic asylum existed until lately. This important work has been undertaken by Count Paul de Nadasdy, bishop of Waitzen. He purchased for the sum of nearly £6,000 the old military academy, and made it over to the province to which he belongs, to be converted into an extensive lunatic asylum. In addition, he assigned a large annual revenue for its support; and one of the Chapter, the Canon Gasparik, has given about £600 for the same purpose.

CROATIA.—Monsig. Alexander d'Algovich, Bishop of Agram, lately gave a sum of 60,000 florins for the establishment of an orphan house in the city of Posega. We have now to announce the death of this venerable prelate. He was born in 1760, and on account of his great services to the Church and his country, was nominated bishop in 1830. On the 18th of March, he was found with his breviary in his hand, having died suddenly of apoplexy. As he died intestate, one-third of his property will go to the government, another to the poor, and another to his heirs-at-law.

VENICE.—The last Doge of Venice, Manini, left a legacy of 110,000 ducats for the foundation of a school and asylum for destitute children, who were to be instructed in different trades. This money could not be applied, on account of the various political changes in that city; but by the exertions of the Cardinal Patriarch, the good work has at length been realised. The children are clothed, fed, and instructed, both in their trades and, above all, in religion, and frequent examinations keep up their emulation, while their morals are closely guarded. From the same bequest, a similar institution for young girls has been formed.

BAVARIA.—A royal order has lately been published at Munich, commanding that all carriages shall stop on meeting the processions with the Viaticum. The order has been communicated to the officers of the household, with the understanding that it is to extend to royal carriages, even when conveying the members of the royal family; and to the foreign ambassadors, to be by them made known to foreigners visiting that city.

The church of All Saints, at Munich, is almost completed. The entire ceiling, and a great portion of the walls, have been painted in fresco, by Henry Hess. All agree in describing his performance as a master-piece, both of sentiment and execution. It is in the style of the early masters, enriched with gilding, in addition to the brightest colouring. The principal paintings have been engraved on stone by the skilful hand of Schreiner. The church of St. Lewis (*Ludwigskirche*) is so far advanced, that the celebrated Cornelius has begun his magnificent frescos, representative of the articles of the creed. (See above, vol. i. p. 457.) In the course of last summer, he finished the upper portion of his Last Judgment. At the same time, under his direction, the Evangelists and Fathers of the Church were painted on the ceiling of the transept. The church of the Blessed Virgin (*Die Maria-Hilf-Kirche*), in the suburb of Du, in the same city, draws near its completion. It is entirely in the old German style, the entrance being through a tower at the front. Its interior decoration chiefly consists of the splendid painted windows presented by the king. The designs are chiefly by Hess, and the execution, which rivals in splendour the finest performances of ancient times, has been conducted on a process perfectly new. The Basilica of St. Boniface is a perfect copy of the ancient Roman Basilicas, and is rapidly rising from its foundations. The apsis is nearly finished. The church will be a parish church, and one of the noblest among the splendid erections of the present king. It is divided into five aisles, like the churches of St. Paul and St. John Lateran in Rome. The columns are sixty-six in number, each of one block, and the expense of each is calculated at four thousand dollars. The entire expense of this church will be defrayed from the king's private purse. Above the columns will be painted a series of pictures representing the propagation of Christianity. The artist selected for this work is Henry Hess.

The Sisters of Charity, who have been established five years at Munich, have been lately taken under the king's special protection. His Majesty has secured to them a grant of public money towards the

erection of a new house, to supply any deficiency in the public subscription which has been opened for them. By a minute account, which has been published, it appears that in the hospital of Munich, a saving of 12,000 florins (about £1200) has been effected by their administration in one year. In one department of the establishment, in which twenty patients were kept at an expense of 7,000 florins, between thirty and forty can now be supported at one-third of the expense.

At the repeated instances of the inhabitants of Tüssen, the king has restored the Franciscan convent in their city. On the 29th of April, a solemn festival was celebrated for this purpose, which was attended by the magistracy, the public officers, and the most respectable inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, in which public thanksgivings were offered up for an event considered by all a public benefit.

A commission has just been appointed at Munich to provide for the introduction of uniformity in classical works all over the kingdom. The Bishop of Augsburg, Mgr. de Richarz, is president, and the other members consist of the directors of the Catholic and Protestant colleges of Munich and Augsburg, and the members of the supreme council of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction of both communions. Its first sitting was held on the 28th of March. The advantages of the measure are said to be very considerable, and it is hoped that the plan will work well.

RUSSIA.—Towards the beginning of this year, an Imperial Ukase was published, by which all Catholic natives of the Western-Provinces of Poland are excluded from all offices in the ministry, or in the higher departments of government, unless they have first served five years in Russia. Only such Poles as profess, or shall embrace, the Russo-Greek schism can enjoy equality of rights with the other subjects of the empire.

The Emperor of Russia has subscribed for a hundred copies of the German translation of the Talmud, which is to be published at Berlin by Dr. Pinner. The Emperor has allowed the work to be dedicated to him. It is to embrace the whole of the Talmud, in the original text of Jerusalem and Babylon, and will extend to twenty-eight volumes in folio. Dr. Pinner has spent five years in visiting Germany, England, France, Italy, Turkey, and Russia; and it is expected that his work will contain his observations on the moral and political situation of the Jews in those countries, as this has been an especial object of his attention and study.

PRUSSIA.—The provincial States of Westphalia (the *Landtag*) have, within these few months, again voted an unanimous address to the king, entreating the abolition of the law which we have before had occasion to mention (vol. ii. p. 180), whereby Catholic soldiers are obliged to attend Protestant service (the *Kirchenparaden*). “The whole country,” says our account, “nobility, burgesses, and peasants, desire an end to be put to an obligation, which places our children’s conduct upon the rack.”

Bonn.—Professor Braun, of this university, and Dr. Elvenich, have proceeded to Rome, to advocate the orthodoxy of the late professor Dr. Hermes. As, however, the question respecting the Hermesian system of theology is at this moment agitating the whole of Catholic Germany, we shall take a future opportunity, when it shall have been more fully considered at Rome, to enter into it at length.

BELGIUM.—The continuators of the Bollandists are appointed. They are the Reverend Fathers L. Boone, J. Van der Moeren, and Coppens: they are assisted by several young disciples.

HOLLAND.—We are in hopes, before long, to present our readers with a detailed and interesting account of the state of religion in this country. And we have no doubt that every Catholic will be consoled and edified by the narrative. At present we will only mention two or three circumstances. The Catholics of Ysentryk, in Zealand, have received from the government a grant of 15,000 florins, towards building a new church, which is to cost 40,000. Considerable sums have been subscribed in Ghent and other towns. The very ancient church of Our Lady at Maestricht, which has long been used as a military dépôt, has been restored to the Catholics, to replace that of St. Nicholas, which will be demolished at the expense of the city; and the Catholics will reimburse the expenses already disbursed for the repairs of their new church by the military commission. All parties agree in praising the conduct of the government in this transaction: many Protestants have contributed towards liquidating the expense incurred by the Catholics.

SWEDEN.—We wish our limits allowed us to give at length the beautiful and moving letter published by the German religious journals, from the Vicar Apostolic Studach at Stockholm, to one of the editors of the excellent *Religionsfreund*, of Würzburg. In it he gives an account of the outward completion of his new church, the first built in that city, and appeals to the charity of his brethren for the necessary funds; as after 20,000 florins have been laid out upon it, there is still a debt of 4,000. Besides the vicar, there are only two other clergy, one who shares with him the parochial duty, while the other takes care of a considerable orphan establishment.

ROME.—With the deepest regret, we announce the death of his Eminence Cardinal Weld. This melancholy event took place at Rome, about half-past one on the afternoon of Monday, April the 10th. Until within a few days before his death, no alarming symptoms appeared, and every hope was entertained of his recovery. But his complaint, unexpectedly, took a serious turn, and earthly hope was soon rendered unavailing. His relatives gathered round his bed-side, and his last act of consciousness was to give his blessing to those to whom he had ever been so tenderly attached. His calm and peaceful death formed a fitting close to a life spent in charity and good will towards all. When the news of his death was announced, Rome was filled with sorrow. The poor whom he had relieved, the orphans whom he had cherished, the communities over which he had watched, and the rich by whom he had been honoured, crowded to his funeral. His brother

cardinals assembled in his church of St. Marcellus, at a solemn high mass. But amongst the multitude of rich and poor, was one whose high station and unaffected grief rendered him more conspicuous than the rest. The Holy Father attended, and his countenance wore an expression of parental sorrow, which sought relief in tears, and choked his utterance, when he attempted to pronounce the last absolution over the illustrious defunct. To mark more strongly their love and regard for his memory, his relatives caused the funeral obsequies to be again performed in the Church of the Orphans, whose generous and zealous protector he had ever been. The church was hung with black in the most costly style, and before the altar a catafalque was raised, on which were inscriptions to commemorate the virtues of the deceased and the sorrow of his family. The Requiem of Mozart was selected, as the most appropriate expression of sorrow and supplication; and no trouble or expense was spared to give effect to the deep and solemn original. All the English residents were invited, and the church was filled to excess; but throughout there reigned a reverential stillness. The execution was worthy of the beautiful composition, and did honour to the talent and reputation of the performers, and to the reputation of their city. The funeral oration was pronounced by the Very Rev. Dr. Wiseman, who traced in it the chief events of the life, and the numerous virtues, of the Cardinal. It has been published in Rome in English and Italian. We trust that a monument will soon be erected in this country, to the virtues, excellence, and merits of our lamented and venerable countryman.

His Eminence Cardinal Galeffi, Chamberlain to the Holy See, and Archpriest of St. Peter's, died at Rome on the 18th June. Although one of the best provided for among the cardinals, and though he had enjoyed his dignity thirty-four years, he did not leave wherewith to defray the charges of his funeral, nor to pay a single legacy. His entire income, after his own very moderate expenses, went to the poor. We need not add that his demise is extensively lamented.

Requiescant in pace!

The *Accademia di Religione Cattolica* has recommenced its assemblies, at the University, under the august patronage of His Holiness, and the auspices of a large number of the cardinals. The opening lecture was delivered on the 27th of April by Cardinal Polidori. The third paper was read, on the 15th of June, by the Very Rev. Dr. Wiseman, on the state of Protestantism in England, principally with regard to the doctrines on church authority; and other papers will be read until September, on subjects connected with the interests or state of religion in different parts of the world.

On the 19th of May, His Holiness held a secret consistory at the Vatican, in which he nominated Monsig. L. Amat, Archbishop of Nice, born at Cagliari in 1796, Cardinal of the Order of Priests. His Eminence received, on the same day, the usual congratulations from the Sacred College, the Diplomatic Body, &c.

On the same occasion, His Holiness nominated two archbishops, and twenty-one bishops, to different churches in France, Germany, America,

and Italy. Amongst them were the new Bishops of Belgrade and Semendria (United); Paz and S. Juan de Cuyo in the New States of South America; and Sonora in North America.

A supplement to the Roman paper was lately filled with a list of the public works, connected with arts, that were executed in Rome by order of His Holiness, during the course of last year. They embrace sacred and profane monuments, paintings, and other interesting objects.

Rome has not been this year without its usual proportion of interesting conversions. Besides several English and Americans, we believe ourselves authorized to reckon the eminent German architect Knapp, who has devoted several years to designing and engraving the early churches of Rome. He has been preceded by a few months, in his return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, by the distinguished landscape-painter Tierlinck.

An unusual number of British prelates have visited Rome this year, on business connected with their sees, or from motives of health: viz. two Irish bishops, Drs. Brown and Higgins; two English vicars-apostolic, Drs. Walsh and Griffiths; and two from our American dependencies, Dr. Mac Donnell from Trinidad, and Dr. Fleming of Newfoundland. To these we must add the Very Rev. W. Ullathorne from Australia, whose accounts of that rising country have deeply interested the ecclesiastical authorities. Thus is religious unity maintained among Catholics from the uttermost bounds of earth, through their communion with the Holy See.

ASIA.

SYRIA.—Monsig. Auvergne, Archbishop of Iconium, and apostolic delegate in Syria, died in September 1836, at Diarbekir, on his journey to the faithful at Bagdad, whither he had been sent by the Holy See. He was only forty-two years of age. His grand vicar, M. Guinoir, died at the same city, and in the same month, aged thirty-four. Both were from the diocese of Nismes, and their loss will be severely felt by that portion of the Church.

INDIA.—M. G. R. Fazio, a Capuchin, Bishop of Tiposa, with two companions, one a German, the other a British subject, left Rome a few months ago, to proceed to Calcutta, by the Red Sea. We have been favoured with a copy of the letter of the respected prelate to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, giving an account of his journey; and we know not which most to admire, their courage in undertaking such a long and perilous journey, or the resignation which he expresses in the midst of his misfortunes. The letter is as follows:

“ We left Cairo, and, after a painful journey through the desert, we arrived at Suez, where we embarked in an English vessel, on the 6th of February. Our voyage was favourable, until four in the morning of the 11th, which was the first Sunday in Lent. Suddenly the vessel struck on a rock, and, awaking, we heard the fearful cries—‘ We are perishing, we are lost! ’ Every means was tried to clear the vessel, but all in vain. Our distress and our prayers reached the throne of God; and at last, about mid-day, a small Turkish vessel,

which was passing at a small distance, came to our aid; but there was room for no more than six of us, as the little vessel was already much loaded. It was resolved that some should embark, and sail to Geddah for assistance. As, however, it was twenty-five miles distant, the party did not arrive till five in the evening. Boats were immediately sent off, expecting to reach about midnight; but towards evening, the vessel split, and the passengers took refuge in the two small boats belonging to it. The darkness of the night, the agitation of the sea, and the smallness of the boats, filled them with fresh apprehension. About midnight, they fell in with one of the boats sent to their relief, and were thus providentially preserved. The other boats saved a small part of the goods. The crew and passengers were all saved, but nearly every thing else was destroyed. We lost all, even our passage-money, which the captain said he was, by the English laws, not bound to return in cases of shipwreck. Our health has suffered, and all of us have been unwell. Last night I had a violent attack of fever. The will of God be done! We intend to resume our journey, as soon as we are a little recovered."

Geddah, Feb. 15, 1837.

Another letter mentions, that from Geddah they would proceed to Mocha.

SOUTH AMERICA.

One hundred and fifty Franciscans lately embarked at Genoa, for the new provinces of South America. The expenses of their voyage will be defrayed by the governments of the states to which they are going.

BUENOS AYRES.—Six religious of the Order of Jesus, who left Cadiz in May 1836, have arrived at Buenos-Ayres. They were received with ringing of bells, and fire-works, and the streets through which they were to pass were covered with flowers. They were conducted to the church of St. Ignatius, which belonged to their former college. The government has paid all the expenses of their voyage, and it is expected that much good will result from their labours, and that they will shortly found schools and other useful establishments. The good bishop wishes them also to give missions in the country. Already, it is said, they have added eight thousand souls to the flock of Jesus Christ. In their favour the government has published a decree, in which it is mentioned that, as the six religious have dedicated themselves to the service of the people, and as it is now time to restore an order, the memory of whose innumerable services in former times, to religion and the state, is but fresh amongst the people, who now form the Argentine republic;—it is decreed that their ancient college shall be restored to them, that they may there live in community, and receive their European brethren according to their institute, and open the course of education approved by the government, which will also increase their buildings if required. This order to be communicated to the bishop, and all the usual officers, and be published in the official register.

NORTH AMERICA.

CINCINNATI.—We extract the following from a letter, dated April the 4th, addressed to two professors of the College of Propaganda :— “ Our religion has lately been attacked on every side, and the Protestants assault us with such violence, that plainly proves how little they will allow to others of that religious liberty, which they claim for themselves. There has been a celebrated controversy between Mon. Purcell, our bishop, and the Protestant clergyman, Mr. Campbell. The latter began the contest by inserting some attacks on Catholicity in the public prints, and challenging any of our clergy to a disputation. Mgr. Purcell appeared in the arena to defend his injured faith, and proceeded so well, that even the Protestant journals award him the victory.” We learn with pleasure that a magnificent set of various articles of plate has been presented to his lordship, in testimony of his late services to religion.

LAKE SUPERIOR.—We hasten to present our readers with the following account of the zeal and energy of a single individual, and his wonderful success in the conversion of souls. M. Frederic Baraga was born of a noble family, at Laibac in Illyria, and was ordained priest in 1823. After much opposition, he was allowed to follow his inclination to labour in the distant vineyard of America, for which he left Europe in 1830. At first, he laboured on the borders of the Red Lake and River, and then removed to Arbre-Croche, where he remained till the end of 1833. During this last period, he heard from the traders in peltries, that further to the north was a people of gentle and open disposition, who had never heard of the gospel. From the new Bishop of Detroit, Mgr. de Rezé, he obtained leave to devote himself to the service of the Otchipwais, who are scattered over the shores and islands of Lake Superior. Their language resembles that of the Ottawais, amongst whom he had already preached, and they live by fishing and the chase. Their idolatry is gross, but not barbarous; but, excepting the English factories, or the Canadians, they knew nothing of the Europeans. To them he set forth, amidst the difficulties of winter and a long journey, early in 1834. He applied for hospitality to those Canadian traders who had married amongst the Indians. The naturally delicate and intelligent minds of their wives were pleased with the beauty of the gospel; and their conversion soon led to that of their children. His success produced a strong reaction. The elders were afraid of the influence of the French, (as they term all foreigners,) and they complained, that the young and imaginative minds of their people were led astray. Thanks be to God, they did not persecute, nor threaten. Each night till midnight was spent in superstitious invocations, accompanied with loud shouts and the beating of drums. For a while, the progress of the gospel was delayed: but the missionary edified all by his patient and gentle conduct; and the conversion of one of their leading men led to that of many others. After fourteen months, he had converted most of the people, and had rendered Christianity respected by all. Its good effects were soon evident over a large tract of country; the conduct of

the people became more edifying, and their clothing and manner of life was suited to the improvement in their moral and social condition. Many of them have learned to read, and a few even to write; it is curious that they evince less talent for the arts of industry, than for those of intellect. About a year ago he was obliged to return to Europe, to print some books for his people, and to obtain some fellow-labourers. He came to Paris, and Providence led him to the editor of the *Univers*, a Catholic paper, to whom he communicated this account. By their help, and by the assistance of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, he was enabled, with great labour on his part, to print three thousand copies, in two different dialects, of two small works which he had brought with him, with the approbation of his bishop. The first is entitled "*Otchipiwie-animie-masinaigan*"; it contains prayers for morning, evening, mass, the wants of life, the litanies and canticles for the festivals. The other "*Jesus obima di siwin ama akin*," contains the life of our Lord Jesus Christ, taken from the gospels, so as to serve either as a history or a catechism. These works were printed in Roman characters, according to a system invented by himself. The Association ordered a great number of the copies to be bound at its expense. At the end of last February, he visited the Holy Father, who was pleased to hear him relate all the history of his mission, and granted him extraordinary powers. Cardinal Fransoni supplied him with money for the books and other wants of his Church. From Rome, he passed through Laibac; but death, in his absence, had deprived him of both his parents. He found there a priest to accompany him to America, as well as a young artisan to instruct the Indians in the arts, and his own sister, who will educate the children. At Vienna, the Emperor and Empress heard with delight all his accounts; and Prince Metternich invited him to his house. M. Baraga took advantage of the opportunity, to beg him to assist the Leopoldine Institute, formed to assist the poor Catholic Sees in North America, and he hopes that he has succeeded in obtaining the minister's support for it. He then returned to Paris; and though his bishop is on his way to Europe, and wishes to see him, his zeal is so great, that he prepared to return, and was intending to leave Paris at the end of May.

EXHIBITION AT ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, PRIOR PARK.—The annual examination of the students belonging to this extensive and superb establishment, took place during three days of the last week, when the subjects of study comprised Moral and Dogmatic Theology; Ethics; Logic; Ideology; Sacred Literature; and the Holy Liturgy; Sacred History; Rhetoric; Mathematics; seven classes of the Classics, Greek and Roman, including every author of high repute in verse and prose; English; French; Italian; History; Geography; Mapping; Chronology; Elocution; Writing; Music and Drawing. On Tuesday morning, a considerable number of ladies and gentlemen were invited to *The Exhibition*, which was intended to present a synoptical review of the progress and attainments of each class, more intelligible and entertaining to a mixed auditory than a mere attendance at the exami-

nations could have afforded. This exhibition consisted of *memoriter* recitations of some of the finest passages in the Greek and Roman Classics; of translations from the same; of original compositions, in prose and verse, in the same languages; of recitations and dialogues in French and Italian; dissertations on literary subjects, sustained by the students, one of which was an analysis of the rules laid down in Horace's Art of Poetry; of specimens of geographical mapping, and of drawing. This lasted from eleven in the morning till nearly four o'clock; but this lengthened period was so agreeably diversified by vocal and instrumental music by the pupils, assisted by Mr. Henry Field and a professional band, that not the smallest feeling of ennui or fatigue was experienced by any of the company, but the highest delight and admiration were expressed on all hands at the diligence and zeal of the professors, which must have been so laudably seconded by industry, application, and talent on the part of the students. It was not merely the knowledge of the grammar and idioms of the French and Italian displayed by the young gentlemen, many of whom were yet below their teens, but the pure and correct accent with which those languages were pronounced, that drew down the most flattering compliments from the strangers present, of whom a large proportion were, from long residence abroad, and intimate acquaintance with those languages, perfectly competent to give a correct opinion. The exhibition terminated by the distribution of prizes by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Baines, who presided. These consisted, 1st, of *honours*—viz. collars of blue and red ribbons with gold crosses, with which those who were fortunate enough to obtain *first certificates* of merit, were invested; and 2nd of *presents*—viz. standard works in superb bindings. The exhibition took place in the New Gallery of Fine Arts, belonging to the Great West Wing of the College.

In the evening a large and elegant party, consisting of between 300 and 400 of the principal nobility and gentry of the city and neighbourhood, in addition to the parents and friends of the pupils, attended to witness the second part of the exhibition, which consisted of dramatic performances, from no less than five plays, three of which were in English from Shakspere, viz. Julius Caesar, Richard II, and Henry IV; one Sacred Drama in Italian, from Metastasio, the recognition of Joseph in Egypt by his brethren; and the very diverting Comedy of Molière—*Le Mariage forcé*, in French; the whole of which were enacted by the pupils alone, without any professional assistance whatever, the dresses, armour, and other “properties” being exceedingly rich and appropriate. The company assembled, by invitation, at six o'clock, and the carriage entry was directed to be made through the new great gates,* about a quarter of a mile below the building. Following this road the company were brought to the foot of the noble

* On these gates is placed the following motto, intended, we presume, to intimate that it is the wish of the principals to stand aloof from all those party questions, either in religion or politics, which have the slightest tendency to disturb the Chris-

flight of steps,† leading to the principal mansion, the interior of which was devastated by a calamitous fire last year. At the top of the first flight, they presented their cards, and, at the summit of the second, were received by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Baines and the very Rev. Dr. Brindle. Tea was immediately served in the vestibule of the principal mansion, which was sufficiently restored, since the conflagration, to be applied to that purpose. From the hour of arrival to the commencement of the performances, the gay assemblage were occupied in traversing the magnificent grounds and gardens, which are not only laid out in admirable taste, but stored with an immense collection of the choicest flowers and shrubs. At half-past seven, the whole party proceeded to the exquisitely classic "Academic Theatre," in the new west wing, where the performances commenced with an overture by a professional band, and a remarkably playful and appropriate prologue delivered in character, with excellent point, by Master Bateman, a boy of very tender age, but who has greatly distinguished himself throughout the entire examination in every branch of study and accomplishment. The plays above named then followed, and drew down repeated thunders of applause from the elegant auditory; nor were these tributes unmerited, for during the whole of these performances, some of which were in foreign languages, and severely taxing both the memory and the judgment, not a single trip, hitch, or failure occurred, among the forty students who took part in the five representations; while the adaptation of look, tone, manner, and gesture to the scene, gave evidence of a thorough comprehension of the text and character. Some idea may be formed of the labour undergone on the occasion, when we state that though the performances commenced punctually at half-past seven, they extended, without interruption, to five hours after that

tian and social charities, or to interrupt those literary pursuits which can only be successfully followed in tranquil and peaceful retirement:

Lest thoughtless steps these sacred shades profane,
Stranger! thy entrance for awhile refrain.
Know, in the shelter of this calm retreat,
Science and sacred lore have fixed their seat,
And gentle poetry—by whom the spot,
Where Pope once sung may never be forgot:
If then thy soul these peaceful genii loves,
'Tis thine to wander in their silent groves;
But, if thy breast the meaner passions fire—
If strife political, sectarian ire—
Possess thy soul, oh! turn thy steps away,
Or check these dire emotions for the day!
Whom wisdom loves—whom virtue calls her own—
Who wishes well to all—and ill to none—
To him the muse---the sage---a welcome send---
Stranger! if such thou art, proceed a friend.

† The classic embellishments of this splendid structure have received many additions from the Hounds-street collection, a sale of which took place some time ago---among the rest a superb pediment and numerous statues, now occupying the several pedestals right and left of the great flight of steps.

period, and closed with a neat epilogue very smartly and gracefully delivered by Master Charles De Aguado. The kind and bountiful hospitalities of the establishment, throughout the evening, relieved, in a great degree, the extreme heat and pressure produced by so numerous an assemblage ; the supplies of negus, lemonade, confectionery, &c. being frequent and abundant. The company broke up, highly delighted with one of the most tasteful, interesting, and attractive recreations which the whole Bath season has afforded.—*Bath Herald.*

EXHIBITION AT OSCOTT COLLEGE.—The exhibition of the Pupils at the Roman Catholic College of Oscott, for Midsummer, 1837, took place on Tuesday last, at three o'clock, in the presence of about four hundred persons. A number of individuals who had been specially invited, dined in the Library of the *old*, whence they proceeded to the Exhibition Room in the *new*, College, which was nearly finished, and was decorated tastefully with laurels and wreaths of flowers for the purpose. The Exhibition commenced with the Overture to "Guy Mannering," exceedingly well executed by six young amateurs. The Prologue by Mr. Alfred Greenep, his own composition, was well adapted to the occasion. The recitations from Cowper, Byron, Chambers, and others, were recited, some of them with much humour, particularly "The Escape of a Pig," by Miss Mitford, recited by Charles Rebelllo, and the "Weatherglass and Weathercock," by W. Trafford. The speakers and declaimers were generally younger than those we heard on the same occasion last year, and the pieces recited were adapted more to juvenile aptitudes. There were six pieces, the compositions of the reciters, varying of course in merit, but all highly creditable to their juvenile authors, Masters Longman, Mac Carthy, Spink, Greenep, and Fagan. In the intervals between the speeches there were glees and music by the pupils. A debate, exceedingly well kept up, followed the recitations—the subject, the respective merits, as heroes, of Alexander Magnus, and Thomas Thumb : there was much wit, humour, and *jeu de mots* in the dialogue. Some scenes from Molière succeeded, in which the merit of Master Farrell was very conspicuous, exhibiting an excellent conception of his subject. To the other four performers it would be difficult to do separate justice. On the whole the scene was a most animating and agreeable one, and spoke the vast improvement in the modern system of education over that of past times. The Examinations in Philosophy, Rhetoric, Poetry, the Classics, Sacred Literature, Mathematics, and Arithmetic, took place on the 8th, 9th, and 12th instant. The prizes of medals and books were delivered after the exhibition on Monday ; and, from the accounts given by the superior, were exceedingly well merited by the pupils, some of whom carried off no less than three for their proficiency in three separate branches of college acquirements.—*From the Staffordshire Examiner.*—Another report informs us that, among those who carried off Collegiate honours, Mr. Charles Eyston, eldest son of C. Eyston, Esq., of Hendred, held a most distinguished place. Having finished his academical course, and being about to leave *Alma Mater* for the last time, the Rev. President took the opportunity, before he

conferred the medal, of enumerating some of his many good qualities, both that merit might not go unrewarded, and that his school-mates might be stimulated to follow so bright an example. The plaudits of his fellow collegians convinced us that the eulogium was not exaggerated.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

PROPOSED CATHOLIC LIBRARY IN LONDON.—An attempt is now being made to establish, in London, a Catholic Library, upon principles which we think will entitle it to the cordial support of every one who wishes well to the cause of our Holy Religion. It is not to be denied that great efforts have been made, and are now making, among Protestants, not only to shake the faith of Catholics, but as much as is possible, by misrepresentations of every kind, to prejudice the public mind. And it is equally undeniable, that, hitherto, Catholics have scarcely even defended themselves. It has been their part to suffer with patience and resignation; but assuredly the time has now arrived when it is their duty to take *every* peaceable means in their power, not only of repelling the calumnies of their enemies, but also of vindicating their own opinions—of showing, in short, that they are able “to give a reason for the Faith that is in them.” Unquestionably preaching is the best method of propagating the true faith; but the difficulty has always been to get over the prejudices of Protestants sufficiently to induce them to attend our chapels in a sincere and inquiring spirit. We trust there is less difficulty in inducing them to *read*, and the object of the proposed association is to offer them this opportunity gratuitously. We understand that sixteen clergymen of the London district have already given the undertaking their cordial support. The sanction of the Bishop is intended to be solicited, and an appeal will then be made to the Laity in general. We subjoin a copy of the resolutions which are proposed to be submitted to a general meeting, and we most cordially wish the undertaking the success it so well deserves:—

“Resolutions proposed to be submitted to a Public Meeting of Catholics.”—Resolved,—*First*: That the Protestant inhabitants of this Metropolis are for the most part in a state of total ignorance as to the real principles and tenets of the Catholic Faith, and that, in consequence, the most derogatory and incorrect opinions are entertained and propagated, even by the best educated classes of society, not only of our holy Religion itself, but also of the understanding and morals of those who profess it.—*Second*: That this lamentable state of affairs is attributable not only to the active and interested misrepresentations of some of our opponents, but also to a want among our laity of the means of making a united and well-directed appeal to the candour and good sense of their fellow-countrymen.—*Third*: That it appears to this meeting that one of the best methods of promoting a knowledge of the truth, and of that Christian charity which is so essential to the well-being of society, is, first, to establish a Catholic Library, from whence the proprietors may supply their Protestant friends with the *gratuitous* loan of approved works, in the English and French Languages, Catholic Reviews, Magazines, &c., &c.; Secondly, so to construct the Rules of the Associ-

ation as to make it a means of producing a greater degree of co-operation and personal acquaintance with each other, and with Catholic affairs, than has hitherto existed among the members of the Catholic body in London and its vicinity.—*Fourth*: That in order to carry these objects into effect, it is expedient to form a Society which shall consist of all Catholics, who, having been elected by ballot, shall pay an annual subscription of ten shillings.—*Fifth*: That the Society shall be governed by officers elected annually in the usual manner.”

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

Bertrand, a Tragedy. By S. B. Harper, Esq. London. Fraser, 1837.

THE scene of this tragedy is laid in Madrid, and the subject is a plot entered into by some Castilian nobles to dethrone the reigning king, Ferdinand, and raise in his stead his queen, Joan, who had been living for some time in a convent, as a nun. Lopez, one of the conspirators, at the same time that he seems all loyalty to the king, determines in his own mind, if their designs against the king should succeed, to marry Queen Joan, and thus elevate himself to the regal dignity. A young noble, named Bertrand, who is betrothed to Lopez' sister, is ardently loved by Joan, and is on that account hated by Lopez, who attempts to get rid of him by assassination; but a feeling for his sister, Mariana, forbids him to repeat his attempt—at least until he effects a change in her affections, which he tries to do by persuading her that Bertrand loves Queen Joan. For this purpose, he feigns having received a message from Joan, requesting Bertrand's attendance at the convent; and having thus sent him there, he informs his sister of Bertrand's errand, and advises her to follow him and be a witness of his visit to the convent. Her jealousy prompts her to conceal herself near the convent gate, within which she sees that Bertrand gains admittance; but before he enters, she overhears some fragments of his soliloquy, which she misconstrues so as to confirm her worst suspicions. So far Lopez succeeds. He next sends Bertrand on a pretended commission from Joan to the conspirators, and then obtains from the king a guard which seizes him immediately after he has delivered his message to the conspirators, and conducts him to Ferdinand, who condemns him to death. On the night before his execution, he encounters in his dungeon one of the conspirators, with whom he enters into conversation, and, from their mutual explanations, the dark designs of Lopez are made manifest to both.

The morning of the execution arrives, and Queen Joan, as if by magic, appears on the scaffold, on which a tumult is begun by the people, who shout “Long live Queen Joan.” She quells this commotion, on the condition that the king should pardon the criminals before him. He does so; but Mariana, whose nerves were so much shaken by the supposed infidelity of Bertrand, that she becomes insane, stabs her lover—and thus ends the tragedy.

We have space for only a very few remarks. The character of Mariana seems to us to have an excess of violence in it; and though, in the end, she is destined to sum up the story with a deed of blood, that deed, nevertheless, proceeds from madness, which very seldom occurs, unless the feelings of the patient are very sensitive and acute. This is precisely Mariana's case; and to fancy that a being of such feelings would be so indifferent to those of others, would be to suppose a thing more than improbable. When she upbraids her brother for his seeming indifference to the danger from assassination, to which Bertrand had been exposed, and from which he had just escaped, she finishes with these words :

“ Then might'st thou feel a kind of gratitude,
That powerful majesty had missed its aim,
So as just at that then present instant
Teclipse the outbreakings of revenge. But hired,
Night-prowling, indiscriminate stabbers !
Why the man's no more mettle than an ass !”

And when he first tells her that Bertrand loves another, the sister addresses the brother thus :

“ William !—Assassin !—Fiend !—What is thy name ?
The Devil, not God, made thee ! My Father's Son
A vile impostor !”

This passage leaves as bad an impression on our mind, of the charity of Mariana, as the one above does of the poetry of our author.

The most of the second scene is nothing but a wide field, in which the impudence of Lopez' servant, Vallos, is shown off, and the high-born conspirators are unhappily made to bear with it all, till his lacqueyship chooses to give it up. There is no meaning, no end to be attained in this, and we naturally conclude that it would have been better left unwritten. The second act is better managed than the first, and is the best, except the fourth; but one or two passages, such as the following, might be omitted to advantage :

“ LOPEZ. Were I now to kill thee, sister, could'st think it love ?
MARIANA. So please my brother, I had rather he should not prove me.

LOPEZ. But could'st trust it, love ?” &c.

The third act opens with a soliloquy of Joan, who, among some much better things, says, speaking of herself :

“ Herbs and raw fruits her princely banquets make ;
Cold, cold, hard stones, her velvet cushioned couch.”

And addressing Mariana—

“ The sun did shine at night, when thou wast born !”

We can understand how a princely banquet can be composed of herbs and raw fruits; but, in spite of all poetical licence, we are at a loss to conceive how “ cold, cold, hard stones,” can be brought to signify a “ velvet cushioned couch;” and this is the first time we have heard of the sun shining in the night-time.

Act IV is rather long; but the poetry is very good throughout, and abounds with images. It commences with a soliloquy of Lopez, who, though of a cold, calculating nature, nearly akin to misanthropy, is yet, on this occasion, sensibly affected, and all his feelings are warmed into love for his kind, by contemplating the beauty and harmony of nature on a gay summer morning. The passage alluded to is one of the best written in the work, and does the author great credit.

After the pardon of Bertrand, in the fifth act, the following is used by Mariana, as an expression of endearment towards him:

"Oh Bertrand, darling! As the boa constrictor
Doth furl around, tight, tight its many coils,
My round long love hugged thee; oh! oh! how couldst
Thou throttle me? It would have kept thee warm."

Now it strikes us, that if our poet, at the time he wrote this, had in his mind the nature of the serpent, or remembered the fable, in which the countryman, who meeting with one whose energies were paralyzed with cold, and taking it up to restore animation, by putting it into his bosom, did so to his own detriment,—we think he would not have employed this unfortunate simile, as he has fared no better with the image than the countryman did with the reality.

The principal defect of the work is a want of connexion, which becomes very apparent in Act V. There are a few improbabilities, such as the retention of Vallos by Lopez, who knowing his servant to be a villain and an eaves-dropper, nevertheless trusts him with a letter, containing a bribe to the lady Abbess of the Convent. The bribe (a diamond ring) excites the curiosity of Vallos, who, like many of the modern successors in his calling, bends the letter, and learns an important secret of his master's.

We make the foregoing remarks, merely to apprise the author of what he ought to guard against, if he should think of again coming forward as a candidate for fame. We would advise him to work hard, for there are, if taken individually, many passages of great beauty to be found in the work before us; and it is only the difficulty of producing a harmonized whole, that he will have to surmount the next time he comes before the public.

Essays, Literary and Political: by W. E. Channing. Glasgow, James Hedderwick and Son, 1837.—As an eloquent writer and original thinker, Dr. Channing has established a high reputation. Many of his views are profound; but he stumbles, like a man in the dark, when he touches on the subject of the Catholic religion. With all his liberality and charity, he entertains silly prejudices against Catholicism, which must be ascribed to early education. The letter on Catholicism, has several striking passages; but it betrays, on the part of the author, an entire ignorance of the first principles of Christianity, and the constitution of the Christian Church.

Philosophy and Religion, with their Mutual Bearings comprehensively considered and satisfactorily determined on clear and scientific principles:

by William Brown Galloway, A.M. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1837.—In an age like the present, abounding with scepticism upon the subject of revealed religion, every attempt to connect philosophy and religion cannot fail to excite the interest of every believer in Christianity. Much evil, as Mr. Galloway observes in his preface, has resulted to philosophy and revealed religion from the want of a proper understanding of their mutual bearings ; many ingenious men having in consequence been led into infidelity, and still more having had their belief injuriously affected ; while, on the other hand, many religious men entertain a jealousy of philosophy. These evils he ascribes to the erroneous and ill-defined notions of moral and metaphysical philosophy which have hitherto prevailed, and to correct these is the object of his work, which he modestly says is “ *a desideratum* both in philosophy and in religion.” But we quarrel not with Mr. Galloway for this high opinion of his own performance ; which, notwithstanding some startling metaphysical dogmas, is a work of great merit.

Picturesque and Historical Recollections during a Tour through Belgium, Germany, France, and Switzerland : by M. O'Connor, Esq. London : Orr and Co. 1837.—Among the many books of travels through Germany and Switzerland that now are published, the above we find to be one of the most interesting, as well as filled with more liberal sentiments, with regard to the religions and customs of our continental neighbours, than such works ordinarily contain. The author, an Irishman, delights to draw comparisons between his own country and that of the Swiss :—“ Both,” he says, “ are peopled by a hardy race, who have, in most of the fields of battle in Europe, figured in the same ranks, won laurels, and reflected glory on their respective countries.” He amuses with his remarks on the stiffness and hauteur which aristocratic English families generally assume when travelling abroad, and which deservedly exclude them from the pleasures which the nobility of every other country derive from the intelligent conversation of mercantile tourists. He conveys instruction to the historian by his succinct description of the labours of the Irish monks, at the head of whom was Columba, who took up his residence in the Vosges Mountains, and founded several monasteries, which afterwards became celebrated for the number and value of the manuscripts which they contained ; and he interests the admirers of the fine arts, by his very just remarks on the paintings of the old Flemish school, which he had an opportunity of visiting on his way through Holland. Our author visited Basle, where he of course went to the cathedral, in the churchyard of which is the tomb of Erasmus. He thus describes his visit :—

“ We passed over a wooden bridge, six hundred feet in length, into Great Basle. Our first visit was to the cathedral ; and as our guide had never heard the name of Erasmus, we were obliged to wander in quest of his tomb, but were repaid by the perusal of old monumental inscriptions, in which we recognised the learning and classic elegance of the old university. Many a pious sentiment elevated us to the contemplation of futurity. Many a holy text pointed to the vanities of all sub-lunary enjoyments ; and many an epitaph, in the medium between

exaggerated praise and moderate eulogy, excited us to the imitation of the virtues of those to whom they were inscribed. At length, we descried the bust of Erasmus. His epitaph is written in a style of simplicity and elegance characteristic of the inhabitant of the tomb beneath. His mortal remains are there deposited; but his wit no longer animates, his genius no longer illumines, his learning no longer ennobles, his true sense of religion no longer chastens the university. Ignorance and illiberality have fixed their residence in those once celebrated abodes of science and toleration. The Reformers have banished the Catholic religion from Great Basle. The free exercise of it is excluded from all places of religious worship, and is connived at in Little Basle, to the great inconvenience of the Catholic population of the other town."

Manmon; or, Covetousness the sin of the Christian Church: by John Harris. London: Ward and Co. 1837.—This work is so well known as the essay which gained the prize offered by Dr. Conquest, for the best work on the above-mentioned subject, and the best means for its remedy, that we need say little or nothing on its merits: it will be enough to say, that the author has treated his subject in a most masterly style, and that the work is worthy of notice, principally on account of the powerful reasoning and elegant style of writing which pervade its pages.

Sonnets, by Edward Moxon: second edition. London, 1837. These verses possess considerable poetical merit: some of the author's ideas, however, border upon the extravagant. He is ready with a sonnet on any given subject, even on pensions. Witness Sonnet XXV, "Occasioned by the debate on the motion for a Revision of the Pension List," which thus pathetically opens:—

"The times are full of change; and restless men,
Who live by agitation, would devour
The widow's mite—her all,—the orphan's dower,—
If upright minds do not, by speech and pen,
Their fury check."

And, accordingly, Mr. Moxon brings his grey goose quill into requisition. The book, in its typography and paper, is a *bijou*.

St. Agnes' Fountain, an old English Ballad, and other Poems: by J. W. Kelly. London: Darton, 1837.—A neat little book, made up of a collection of verses of a light nature, and well calculated to inspire children with a taste for reading poetry, which we think is the object of the writer.

Poems, original and translated: by Charles Percy Wyatt, B.A. London: Fraser, 1837.—This is an addition to the numberless works of poetry already published, which could almost be dispensed with, were it not for a few of his sonnets, and his translations from the German. The latter are executed with spirit, and the former glide along with ease and smoothness, and display good taste.

The Oakleigh Shooting Code: by Thomas Oakleigh, Esq., with numerous explanatory and other Notes: edited by the Author of "Nights at Oakleigh Old Manor Hall." Second edition. London: Ridgway and Sons, 1837.—This is a very useful manual for Sportsmen. The fewness of the technical terms used in it renders it intelligible to the

every day reader, and no person who aims at becoming an accomplished sportsman, should be without a copy of it. It also contains several valuable hints on the training of the various kinds of dogs used in this exercise.

Beauties of the Country: by Thomas Miller, Author of "A Day in the Woods." London : Van Voorst, 1837.—We have seldom perused a work on this subject that has afforded us greater pleasure; it evinces throughout much originality of conception: and though written in prose, is replete with the imagery and language which belong to the finest poetry. The author shows himself to be an ardent admirer of nature in all its varieties: every thing that belongs to the world of birds, flowers, flowing streamlets, hills, or vallies, possesses enchantments for him: and his vivid imagination causes him to hear the sound of music in the breath of the zephyrs, as they stir the leaves of the plants. We would recommend the perusal of it to every person, but more especially to the young: it would improve their taste much, and inspire them with a love of every thing beautiful in nature. The illustrations, by Mr. Lambert, are very spirited: the frontispiece is quite a gem.

Doveton; or the Man of many Impulses.—This is a very good novel. The incidents which occur in the course of it are of a stirring character, and well calculated to give it that interest which it is so necessary for a novel to possess. There is, moreover, a great deal of sound sense in the observations put into the mouth of Smith, one of the characters in the novel, and a friend of the hero; which is well contrasted with the spiritual abstractedness and poetising temperament of the latter, who, we cannot but think, is endowed with too "many impulses;" or rather, it may be, that these are too easily excited. But we will not quarrel much with this, as we have derived some pleasure from the work, which is well written throughout.

Egypt as it is in 1837: by Thomas Waghorn. London : Smith, Elder, and Co. 1837.—Mr. Waghorn, whose exertions to establish a steam intercourse with our possessions in the East, by the Red Sea, deserve great praise, advocates in this pamphlet the independence of Egypt; to effect which, he thinks, that the bare *permission* of England is all that is requisite. Now, although we are desirous for the independence of the land of the Pharaohs as much as Mr. Waghorn can be, we demur to any hostile interference on the part of this country to effect it. The Egyptian army, according to Mr. Waghorn, amounts to 100,400 regulars, and 13,450 irregulars: and the effective naval force consists of eight line of battleships (four of which mount 110 guns each), five frigates, and sixteen corvettes, brigs, and cutters.

Investigation; or, Travels in the Boudoir: by Caroline A. Halsted. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1837.—Miss, or Mrs. Halsted, appears to be a thorough-going Tory—an admirer of things as they are—in Church and State; and being fully persuaded, "that perhaps there never was a period when the minds of the rising generation required more than at the present to be impressed with the value of those sacred institutions in Church and State, which have contributed to raise their country to the highest pinnacle of glory," she produces "Investigation,"—the chief object of

which "is to prove to young persons of active imaginations, that happiness and knowledge depend, not as such are too frequently disposed to imagine, on a foreign tour; but that much valuable information may be obtained in their own country—amusement in their own homes—nay, pleasant variety and real entertainment, *even in those very apartments*, where for want of occupation, many an intelligent mind may have idly lounged for hours, listlessly wishing for some novelty." This "valuable information," picked up in the boudoir, consists of some knowledge of carpets, tapestry, modern paper hangings, ornamental plumes and feathers, idolatry, oriental china, European porcelain, &c. &c., all, no doubt, very useful for young ladies. But there are matters of graver moment treated of, viz. the History of the Bible, and the Preservation and Purity of the Scriptures. As the lady considers that, "our happiness as individuals, and our greatness as a community, is attributable, chiefly under God's blessing, to the venerable Church establishment," we looked for an attack upon Popery as a matter of course, and we have not been deceived. To notice the many silly observations made by the authoress, in reference to this fertile topic of abuse would be useless, but we cannot pass one or two gross misstatements. In the first place, the writer says, that "the adherents of this (the Roman Catholic) Church are still prohibited, even in England, from reading the Scriptures, in their native tongue!" while in point of fact, no such prohibition ever existed in England. And in the second place, that previous to the Reformation, the Scriptures "remained in Europe in their original languages of Hebrew and Greek, or were translated into Latin only;" while the truth is, that very shortly after the invention of printing, and long before the Reformation, so-called, translations of the Scriptures were printed in the vernacular languages of Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, and Spain. Enough.

Funeral Oration on his Eminence Cardinal Weld. Delivered at his solemn obsequies in the Church of St. Maria, in Aquiro, April 22, 1837. By N. Wiseman, D.D. Rome. 1837. London. Reprinted by Booker and Dolman. This is an eloquent tribute to departed worth, and should find a place in the library of every Catholic. Did our limits permit we would give an extract or two from the pleasing biographical sketch of the eminent person who is the deserving object of the learned Doctor's eulogy; but curtailment would be doing an injustice to the orator, and we must therefore refer our readers to the discourse itself.

A Discourse on the complete Restoration of Man, morally and physically considered. By Daniel Chapman. London. Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1837. We have been able only to glance over this volume; but this slight perusal has satisfied us that it is a work of great merit, well calculated to inspire the reader with a high religious feeling, and to rouse the attention of the unthinking sceptic. Mr. Chapman's speculations upon the physical restoration of man are curious and interesting.

A History of England from the Invasion of the Romans. By John Lingard, D.D. The fourth edition, correctly and considerably enlarged.

Vol. I. London. Baldwin and Cradock. 1837. This valuable work is already so well known, that a mere allusion to this new edition is all that is necessary. It has now received the last corrections of the learned Author, who has made considerable additions to the text, which have enhanced its importance as the only History of England which can be relied upon for accuracy and impartiality. Dr. Lingard, we believe, does not contemplate a continuation of his history. We think the publishers might have displayed more taste in getting up this work. The typography of Messrs. Clowes is not just what we should have expected from their respectable establishment.

Views of the Architecture of the Heavens, in a Series of Letters to a Lady. By J. P. Nichol, LL.D. F.R.S.E. Professor of Practical Astronomy in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh. William Tait. 1837. For those who have little time to devote to the study of the sublime science of Astronomy, this work is peculiarly well fitted, being written in a popular style, and free from what may be called the technicalities of the system. In Part I. the Professor treats of the form of the existing universe; in Part II. of the constituent mechanisms or the principle of vitality of stellar arrangements; and in the third, or concluding part, of the origin and probable destiny of the present form of the material creation. This last head comprises a short dissertation upon the nebulae, particularly that of Orion, compared by Sir John Herschel "to a curdling liquid, or a surface strewed over with flocks of wool, or the breaking up of a mackerel sky, when the clouds of which it consists begin to assume a cirrous appearance." The work is illustrated by twenty-two plates, chiefly taken from graphic representations by the two Herschels.

An Essay concerning the Nature of Man. By John Dayman. London. Longman and Co. 1837.—The Author professes himself to be "a firm believer in the authenticity and sacred character of the Scriptures, as received by the Protestant churches;" and as such hesists down to write a book to prove that the doctrine of a material body and an immaterial and immortal soul is a "heathen notion," and "when applied to the scheme of religion laid down in the Bible is full of inconsistencies!" This is bible-reading with a vengeance. Mr. Dayman's opinions are too absurd for refutation.

The Contention of Death and Love, a Poem. London. Moxon. 1837.—The subject of this poem is a contention between Death and Love, who are fancifully represented as sisters, standing at the bedside of a sick poet. The dispute is, whether the poet shall be numbered with the dead or with the living. They are both eloquent, and there is a good deal of beauty and winning affection in the address of Death to her sister, while those of the latter are much more forcible. After all, Love is content that the poet's memory should outlive his mortal remains, and this furnishes our author with an opportunity of indulging his muse and letting her fly

— "through
"The unfathomed depths of ether blue."

The Progress of Creation considered with reference to the present condition of the Earth. By Mary Roberts. London. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1837.—This interesting subject is handled by our fair authoress with all the ability which we were led to expect from seeing her name on the title-page. The knowledge of natural history which she brings to bear upon the subject shows her to be very well versed in this science, and the entertaining manner in which she communicates that knowledge cannot fail to attract the attention of her readers. The work, to use a bookseller's phrase, is "well got up."

The Irish Tourist, or the People and the Provinces of Ireland. London : Darton and Harvey. 1837.—This is rather a commonplace affair, yet the work is not without interest; and though tinged with an anti-catholic feeling, it contains more liberal sentiments than are usually to be met with in the writings of tourists in Ireland. Our traveller found party spirit still rampant in Londonderry, in the person of an Orange guide, who appeared to wish for an opportunity of bringing the Catholics to open war with the Protestants; and "a gentlemanly townsmen," who remarked that he had served his country well, and liked rest and quiet, but that he should not be sorry to see 'a good sound rebellion in Ireland'; that (he continued) is the only thing to put us to a right state—the Catholics must lose thousands and millions before there is peace in Ireland—an open rebellion, and an English army to put the rascals down, would do the business at once!" This "gentlemanly townsmen" then "ran into a most furious tirade against the Melbourne ministry. Lord Mulgrave and Lord Morpeth were traitors, infidels—no name was too bad for them; the Education Board was an atheistical device; and Orange-men and Orange-lodges were the only instruments for the regeneration of Ireland!" Such are the real sentiments, not of a few individuals, but of the whole *genus*, from Ernest King of Hanover down to Sam Gray. How fortunate for Ireland that Victoria is now her sovereign, instead of the Grand Master of the Orange Lodges! She has thus been spared another Iliad of woes.

Education Reform. By T. Wyse, M.P. Vol. I. London : Longman and Co. 1837.—The question of national education is of too great importance to admit of much longer delay in bringing it into practical operation. Mr. Wyse, to whose indefatigable labours this cause is under the deepest obligations, advocates no untried theory, but the establishment of a system of universal education, which has been already found to work well in those countries where it has been tried. He treats the subject in the volume before us in the spirit of true philosophy, and his views are those of an enlightened and accomplished statesman, destined, we hope, to act a distinguished part in the regeneration of his country.

Sequel to Sematology, being an attempt to clear the way for the Regeneration of Metaphysics, comprising Strictures on Platonism, Materialism, Scotch Intellectual Philosophy & Phrenology, Brougham's Additions to Paley, Logic at Oxford and in the Edinburgh Review, &c. By the Author of "An Outline of Sematology, or an Essay towards

establishing a new Theory of Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric. 1837.—Certes Mr. Smart is quite a giant in his own way—a metaphysical Goliath, who derides with scorn the host of modern metaphysicians as a puny race, wholly unacquainted with the science of mind. Yet he does not mean “to fill up the vacancy which a century and a half of inattention” to the science of metaphysics, as Locke proposed it, has left. “My attempt” (he observes) “is only to clear the way; and to this end I shall think that I have not been uselessly employed if I induce people to ponder whether Scotch intellectual philosophy and Oxford reviving logic, the northern-lights in Albemarle-street, and Aristotle at Edinburgh, and Brougham at work on Paley, are not unwholesome *miasmata* in our literary atmosphere, which must be qualified or swept away, before metaphysics can be regenerated and flourish as a useful branch of useful learning.” This is no doubt very modest, but modesty may be carried too far, and although in our author’s opinion it is not for one man nor perhaps for one generation to supply the vacancy now existing in metaphysical science, we would advise him to endeavour to fill it up *quam primum*.

Postscript to ARTICLE IV, page 113.

Since the article on Canada was sent to press, we received six weeks later intelligence from Canada, our advices now reaching the 9th of June.

The determination announced in the letter dated 23rd April, and printed at pages 110-111, has been very generally acted upon. During the interval in question, the whole country has been in a state of extreme agitation. Numerous county meetings have been held, denouncing in the strongest terms the government measure, and pledging themselves to resist by every means in their power.

The proceedings of all these county meetings are nearly of the same tenour.

They declare, that from this time forward, the connexion of Canada with the mother country is one of *force* only. That they will do all in their power to bring about the independence of the Colony.

They pledge themselves, and they earnestly recommend their fellow citizens, to abstain from the use of all those commodities which bear a duty, and so afford a revenue to the government.

They declare the smuggler worthy of the good opinion and gratitude of his fellow citizens, and they denounce as base, infamous, and deserving of the execration of the country, all who inform against the smuggler.

At one meeting, that of the County of Two-Mountains, a smuggled tea-chest, a home-made whiskey barrel, and some smuggled tobacco, were carried in the procession, with appropriate banners, and not a revenue officer dared to interfere.

Numerous county meetings are still announced.